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Ekamukhaliṅga –Śāmalājī
(Gupta Period)

Refer to Mr. V. S. Parekh's article

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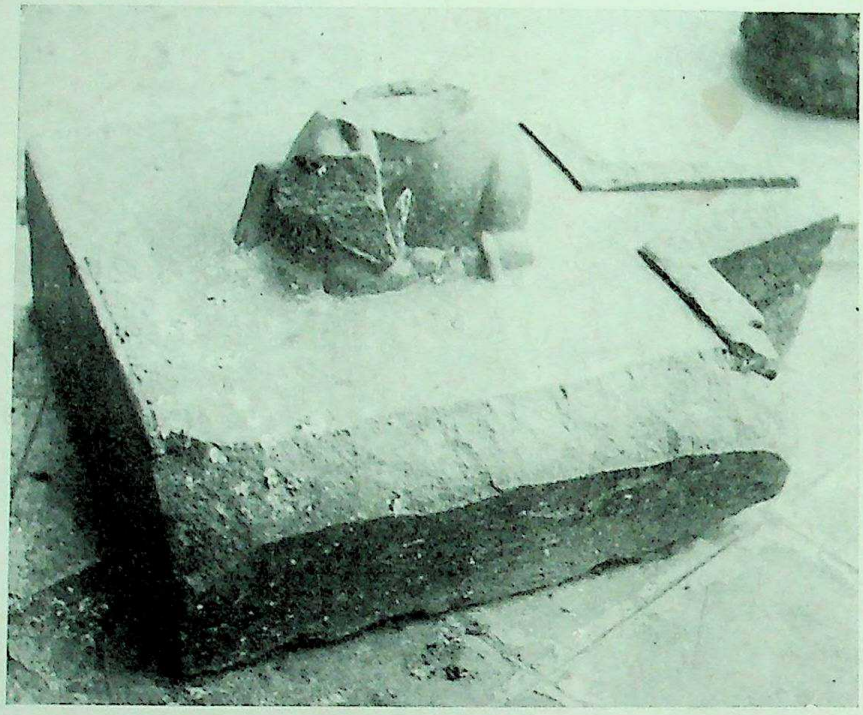

Fig. 3
Kedāreśvara from Hathijan near Ahmedabad
Photo courtesy : Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Gujarat
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VIṢṆU IN THE VEDIC LITERATURE

By
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Though the beginning of Viṣṇu-mythology in the *Ṛgveda* is marked by humbleness, it does contain subtle elements that contributed to his eventual ascension to the status of the sole and Supreme God in classical mythology.

Viṣṇu is praised in five hymns in the *Ṛgveda*. In several other hymns he is invoked with other deities. If, therefore, viewed from merely statistical point of view, Viṣṇu would appear as a diety of little importance. Macdonell, Muir, Keith and Dandekar have made him out to be a deity enjoying a subordinate position in the *Ṛgveda*. Unlike Keith and Dandekar, however, Macdonell and Muir have also attempted to ascertain Viṣṇu's position in earlier Vedic times on the basis of his attributes, functions and great traits described in the *Ṛgveda* and have declared him to be possessing great power. Muir opines that the attributes ascribed to Viṣṇu in the passages of the *Ṛgveda* are such that if they stood alone in the *Ṛgveda*, excluding those hymns in which he is invoked with many other deities, one might be led to suppose that Viṣṇu was regarded by the Vedic seers as the chief of all the gods[1]. Macdonell observes that Viṣṇu's personality is more important in the *Ṛgveda* than would appear from the statistical standard alone[2]. Bhandarkar states that there are but a few hymns addressed to Viṣṇu in

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1 Muir J., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Trubner & Co., London, 1973, p. 98.

2 Macdonell, A. A., *Vedic Mythology*, Verlag Von, Karl J. Trubner, Strassburg, 1897, p. 37.

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the *Ṛgveda* but his personality is by no means unimportant[3]. Raychaudhari, after a survey of the his traits, concludes by saying that it is clear that Viṣṇu was a great god even in the earliest Vedic times[4].

The present attempt is made with a view to establishing the fact that Viṣṇu was a great god in the Vedic times and possessed such characteristics as facilitated his ascension to the pre-eminent position of the Supreme God in the classical mythology. After a brief survey of Viṣṇu's functions and attributes described in the *Ṛgveda*, Dandekar's thesis that his original Śipiviṣṭa aspect was consciously suppressed by the Ṛgvedic priests and was invested with the personality of the Sun, artificially making him an ally of Indra will be considered. Considering Otto's suggestion that Viṣṇu represented *numen* or spirit pervading certain natural objects, it will be established that he originally represented noumenon as against any aspect of phenomenon and that this fact led him in the later phase of Vedic religion to attain the unique status of Supreme Person having all other deities as members of the organism which Viṣṇu as spirit or the principle of sentiency, enlivened having entered into it.

Viṣṇu measured the terrestrial space[5] (*Ṛgveda*, I, 154,1). With his three wide strides he measured and pervaded the universe (I. 22.17), making room for all the worlds to exist (I. 154.2). His three strides are referred to often. They provide suitable residence for all beings (VII, 100. 1-2) and secure enjoyment for all gods (VIII.29.7). His three steps are sometimes said to be for the benefit of Indra (VIII.52.3) and they maintain fixed ordinances, help Viṣṇu to perceive established laws (I.22.18-19). Out of these three steps of Viṣṇu, the third step is described as the highest which is beyond the reach of ordinary perception (I. 156.5). His two strides are known by all but he alone knows the highest one. The utmost limit of his grandeur can be known by none among the born or being born (VII. 99.2). This highest footstep of Viṣṇu is called *parama pada* and is referred to repeatedly, (I. 22.20-21; I. 154.5-6; I. 155.5; V. 3.3; VII. 99.1; VIII. 29.7). This highest step or abode of Viṣṇu, though beyond the reach of all beings, is said to be perceived constantly by the *sūris* or sages as a spread-out eye in the sky and is lighted by the wise who are ever-wakeful and free from evil, through prayers (I. 22.20-21). Moreover, it is the source of divine mead or bliss in which god-seeking persons, *devayavaḥ* rejoice (I. 154.5). It is also an object of intense aspiration, a desired goal because it shines brightly and is a coveted abode having many-horned nimble cows[6] and is

3 Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇvism Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems*. Indological Book House, Varanasi, 1965, p. 33.

4 Raychaudhari, H. C., *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*. University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1936, p. 14.

5 The instrument for measuring is the Sun (V. 85.5).

6 The cows are mysterious for they are said to be protected by *Agni* (V. 3.3.). They may symbolise speech in its subtle form.

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replete with sweet bliss (I. 154.6). Viṣṇu is the primeval germ of cosmic order (I. 156.3). He generated the Sun, the dawn and fire for the purpose of sacrifice (VII. 99.4). He is preserver and protects unfailingly those who offer gifts because his strides are far-reaching. Those who adore him secure an eternal benefactor in Viṣṇu (VII. 100.1). He is *tridhātu* and as such supports the earth, the heaven and all the worlds (I. 154.4). His mighty will is followed by the king Varuṇa, Aśvins and Maruts (I. 156.4). He sets in motion, like a moving wheel, his ninety steeds, each with four names (I. 155.6). By the command of Viṣṇu, the seven embryos, the prolific sources of the world, constantly function to support the universe. The wise, by thought, by mind, survey and comprehend all things (I. 164.36). Viṣṇu, a protector, preserves the highest heaven, sustaining the cherished, undecaying regions (III. 55.10). Regarding Viṣṇu's association with Indra, it is to be noted that the latter requests the former to stride widely so that the great forces of enveloping darkness may be dispelled :—Indra, about to slay Vṛtra, said, " Friend Viṣṇu, do thou stride vastly (IV. 18.11). Friend Viṣṇu, stride the space vastly to give room for the thunderbolt to descend ;[7] let us slay Vṛtra and let loose the waters " (VIII. 89.12).

To Viṣṇu, the dweller in the mountains, let my inspired hymn proceed (I. 154.3). We seek protection from the mountains, rivers and Viṣṇu who is associated with them (VIII. 30.10).

On the strength of these references of Viṣṇu's relation with mountains and rivers, Otto holds Viṣṇu to represent originally the spirit or numinous might-potentiality which in half identity with its bearer is worshipped in them and with them.[8]

Viṣṇu envelopes and supports the earth with the rays of light (VII. 99.3). The world is enveloped by his dust (rays) (I. 22.17). This trait of splendour makes Viṣṇu difficult to be seen. He, therefore, for the benefit of his worshippers, assumes another form, so that they may see him. Vasiṣṭha refers to Viṣṇu's

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7 Cf. " Indra was afraid of him (Vṛtra)..... He said to Viṣṇu, let us kill him. Viṣṇu divided himself into three parts, placing one on earth, second in the air and third in the sky..... This is why Viṣṇu is known as *Tridhātu*."

Taittiriya Saṁhitā, II. 4.12.2.

" Vṛtra by his power enveloped the three worlds. Even Indra could not slay him. Approaching Viṣṇu he said: " I will slay Vṛtra, stride vastly in my vicinity ".

Bṛhaddevatā VI. 121. 22-23.

Considering this sort of relationship of Viṣṇu with Indra, Tripathi observes that at places it appears that the credit of Indra's victory over Vṛtra goes to Viṣṇu. This is the source of epic legends of Viṣṇu's succour to gods when confronted with *asuras*.

Tripathi, G. C., *Vedic Devatā, Udbhava aur Vikāsa*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashana, Delhi, 1982, p. 386.

8 Otto, R. *The God of the Gītā. The Viśva Bhāratī quarterly*, Shantiniketan, Vol. I, Part-II, 1935, p. 21.

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name Śipiviṣṭa which means 'enveloped with rays': "I, a devoted worshipper, who know the sacred rites, today celebrate this thy name 'Śipiviṣṭa'; I who am weak, laud thee who art strong and dwellest beyond this lower world. What, Viṣṇu, hadst thou to blame, that thou declarest, 'I am Śipiviṣṭa'? Do not counceal from us this form, since thou didst assume another form in the battle" (VII 100.5-6).

Yāska commenting on these two verses in *Nirukta*, V. 8.9 states: "According to Aupamanyava, Viṣṇu has two names, Śipiviṣṭa and Viṣṇu, of which the former has a bad sense. What, Viṣṇu, is this undeclared thing of yours which you do not tell. "I am enveloped like private member," that is with rays obscured. The word *śipi* here means rays, with them he is pervaded. Do not conceal this form. That you are of another form in the battle, with your rays withheld".

The text of the *Ṛgveda* clearly states that Viṣṇu assumed another form in the battle, concealing his original effulgent form. Both these forms are significantly called Śipiviṣṭa because the first form is enveloped by rays, whereas the second form appears denuded of the rays and therefore looks like the private member or like a bald person.[9]

Dandekar formulates a new theory of Viṣṇu-myth on the basis of this rather insignificant aspect of Viṣṇu. Śipiviṣṭa, according to him, represents "the changing phallus; the swelling and diminishing penis", who was a popular deity among the primitive Āryan masses.[10] This original nature of Viṣṇu was consciously suppressed by the Vedic priests for obvious reasons and he was admitted in the Vedic pantheon as the Sun-god and was artificially made a subordinate ally of Indra.[11] This theory fails to account for Viṣṇu's ascension to the position of the Supreme God in classical mytholoy, nor is it based on philological grounds.

In the *Ṛgveda* seven or eight Ādityas are mentioned by name (II. 27.1; IX. 114.3), but Viṣṇu does not figure as one of them. Only in the *Atharvaveda* (XI. 6.2) Viṣṇu is mentioned along with Ādityas. Still on the strength of some stray attributes like *śatarcas* (VII. 100.3) *svardṛś*' (I. 155.5) and especially an allusion to Viṣṇu's setting in motion, like a wheel, his ninety steeds with four names each, construed as the solar year of 360 days, Dandekar concludes that Viṣṇu represents the Sun. Unlike Whitney, Roth and Max Müller who understand the three steps of Viṣṇu as the rising, culminating and setting of the Sun, Dandekar thinks these three steps to be the Sun's traversing the three divisions of the universe, viz. the earth, the atmosphere and the heaven and thus Viṣṇu's highest step to be the zenith or Elysium.[12] But the description of the *parama pada* or the highest step

9 *Mahābhārata*, XII. 330.6 uses the word Śipiviṣṭa in the sense of bald.
10 Dandekar, R. N., *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, Ajanta publications, Dehi, 1979. p. 86.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 69 ff.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

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of Viṣṇu does not correspond both to the setting of the Sun and the zenith or the meridian point of the Sun, because it is described as beyond the perception of ordinary beings, as lighted by the wise and ever-wakeful sages through prayers, in which god-seeking persons delight, as constantly seen by the *sūris* or sages, and as an object of aspiration, a coveted goal, since it is the source of divine mead and sweet bliss. On account of these characteristics, the highest step of Viṣṇu cannot also be regarded as the abode of the departed souls as suggested by Hopkins and Raychaudhuri, but the latter's observation that in later times it became the goal of spiritual endeavour[13] deserves careful consideration. Bhandarkar rightly thinks that the mysterious description of Viṣṇu's third or highest step paved the way for his acknowledgement as the sole and Supreme God.[14] Bhandarkar also states that it is the end of soul's journey.[15] *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (III. 9) states " one who has intelligence as driver of the chariot and controls the rein of his mind, he alone reaches the end of the journey, that highest step, *parama pada* of Viṣṇu ".

The Sun-aspect, however, is one of the many facets of Viṣṇu's personality, but his original and essential nature is to be traced by the indication of his pervasiveness denoted etymologically by his name. *Bṛhaddevatā* (II.69) derives the word Viṣṇu from the roots *Viṣ*, *Viś* and *Veviś*, all meaning " to pervade ". Oldenberg takes ' *Vi* ' to mean ' asunder ', Viṣṇu, therefore, according him means he who stretches himself wide asunder, thus representing the width of space.[16] Gonda, after a detailed study of all the aspects of Viṣṇu and not assuming any one aspect as representing his original character at a more remote period, concludes :—" there is much truth in the time-honoured Indian interpretation of the god's character as representing pervasiveness which forms the central feature in the vast complex of ideas denoted by the name Viṣṇu ".[17] This name, in addition to pervasiveness, also denotes ' penetration or entrance '. Otto, as stated earlier, thinks Viṣṇu to be a *numen* or spirit and observes that it has a concrete bearer, *ādhāra* which it pervades as numinous might-potentiality by its immanence, since it is immanent spirit, also called *nara* and *puruṣa*. He, further, asserts: " But in their special function of indwelling spirits, as I suppose, they were called Viṣṇus. The specific character of the developed idea of the great Viṣṇu and the etymon ' *viṣṇu*' itself demonstrate this fact ".[18] The close correspondence and gradual identification of Viṣṇu with the indwelling spirit called *nara* or *nārāyaṇa* conceived by Otto is based on an ancient passage in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, 10,

13 Raychaudhari, H. C., *op. cit.*, p. 14.

14 Bhandarkar, R. G., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

16 Oldenberg, H., *Die Religion Des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 229-30.

17 Gonda, J., *Aspects of Early Vaiṣṇavism*, N. V. A. oosthoek uitgevers Mij, utrecht, 1954, p. 172.

18 Otto, R., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

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1, 6. It reads : " We worship Nārāyaṇa, we dedicate our mind to Vāsudeva, May Viṣṇu, therefore lead to prosperity ".

Extending logically the idea of spirit, Otto found it comprehensible that the concept of Brahman attracted that of Viṣṇu and amalgamated with it, for both were might concepts. " The Brahman is the hidden ' might ', first in sacrifice, then in all numinous appearances of the world and lastly everywhere in the universe. This is why the idea of Viṣṇu could be amalgamated and identified with the Brahman idea ".[19]

Since Brahman in the *Ṛgveda* originally denoted prayer, the power of hymn and then the power of the sacrifice and since the concept of Viṣṇu as pervasive spirit was identified with the concept of Brahman, Viṣṇu's identification with sacrifice, first attempted in the *Puruṣasūkta* (X.90.), became a matter of course.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (I. 2.5.1 and VII. 5.6) identifies Viṣṇu with sacrifice, who gains the whole earth for gods and becomes pre-eminent among gods through it. The same text (XII. 3.4 and XIII. 6.1) states that Puruṣa-nārāyaṇa performed the *Pāñcarātra* sacrifice and became all. This fact of Viṣṇu's identification with the sacrifice indicates that the deity of the Ṛgvedic *Puruṣasūkta* may be Viṣṇu. Therefore, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 1) declares Viṣṇu to be the greatest God. The veracity of this surmise is borne out by the fact that the *Puruṣasūkta* is conventionally employed for the ritual worship of Viṣṇu exclusively.

The precise indication of vital importance in respect of the identity of Viṣṇu, with the *puruṣa* eulogised in the *Puruṣasūkta* which is taken for granted in later works, is the mention of the three steps and the verb *vi-kram* in two verses of similar import :

(a) *Idaṁ Viṣṇur* Vicakrame tredhā *nidadhe* padam; *samūḍhamasya pāṁsure.*

" This (universe) Viṣṇu strode over, planting his step in three places. The world is enveloped by his dust (rays) " (I. 22.17).

(b) *Tripādūrdhvamudait Puruṣaḥ pado'syehābhavat punaḥ ; tato viṣvaṅ vyakrāmat sāśanānaśane abhi.*

" With three steps (quarters) the Puruṣa mounted (pervaded) upwards ; his one quarter remained here below. Thence he strode out to every side over all that is animate and inanimate " (X. 90.4).

This Puruṣa is the *noumenon*, the principles of sentiency[20], pervading and indwelling spirit, the universe composing his organism, his feet being the earth,

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19 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

20 That *Puruṣa* denoted *noumenon* or the principle of sentiency is testified by all later philosophical works, especially in Sāṁkhya, *Puruṣa* is distinctly set over against *Prakṛti.*

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his navel the atmosphere, his head the heaven and his ear the space, containing the worlds (X. 90.14). Consequently all the gods, superintending various departments of Nature, were conceived as different members of this cosmic organism,[21] the Sun forming his eye, the moon his mind, Indra and Agni his mouth and Vāyu his breath (X. 90.13).

Yāska calls this *Puruṣa* or the spirit of sacrifice as *ātmā* who is worshipped as different gods and also as their paraphernalia. In *Nirukta*, (VII.4) Yāska states : "But let one not regard any matter relating to the gods as if it was accidental ; this must be clearly understood. Owing to the greatness of the deity, the one Soul is praised in many ways. The different gods are members of the one Soul. It is Soul that is their chariot, Soul their steeds, Soul their weapon, Soul their arrows, Soul is a god's all".

Moreover, the identification of Viṣṇu with Puruṣa or Nārāyaṇa gave rise to his spiritualisation in two contexts, one macrocosmic and the other microcosmic. In the macrocosmic context, Viṣṇu as Puruṣa, was conceived to be beyond the manifest and non-manifest aspects of the world :

mahataḥ param avyaktam, avyaktāt puruṣaḥ paraḥ;
puruṣānna paraṁ kiñcit sā kāṣṭhā sā parā gatiḥ.

"Beyond the great (self) is the unmanifest, beyond the unmanifest is the Puruṣa or spirit. Beyond the Puruṣa there is nothing. That is the end (of the journey); that is the final goal".[22] That this Purūṣa is the deity eulogised in the *Puruṣasūkta* is clearly stated by Sāyaṇa in his commentary : *avyaktamahadādivilakṣaṇaśchetano yaḥ puruṣaḥ 'puruṣānna paraṁ kiñcit' ityādi śrutiṣu prasiddhaḥ saḥ devatā.*[23]

In the microcosmic context Viṣṇu was identified with *Ātmā*, the innermost Puruṣa, abiding in the cavity of the heart :

katama ātmeti—yo'yam vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu hṛdyantar jyotiḥ puruṣaḥ.

"Which is the self ?—The Puruṣa (spirit) here who consists of intelligence among the senses, the light within the heart".[24]

Viṣṇu's three strides, if interpreted as the rising, culminating and setting of the Sun or the Sun's movement in the three divisions of the universe, leave out

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21 Otto's contention, therefore, that originally Viṣṇu represented a spirit indwelling mountains, rivers etc. and later became that of the universe is to be accepted in the sense that the *Puruṣasūkta* represents an advanced phase of religious evolution when co-ordination of all gods and their spiritualisation was attempted.

22 *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, I. 3.11. Tr. Radhakrishnan, S., *The Principal Upaniṣads*, George Allen and unwin Ltd., London, 1953, p. 625.

23 *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, Vol. IV, Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1946, p. 614.

24 *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, Tr. Radhakrishnan, S., *op. cit.*, p. 256.

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its unmanifest aspect, and his transcendance to both the manifest and the unmanifest. The three strides, therefore, must be understood as three quarters of this all-pervasive God, comprising the manifest, unmanifest aspects of the universe and the transcendental state beyond both of them.[25] If this interpretation of Viṣṇu's three strides, measuring the totality of the universe, is accepted, his highest step or abode, often alluded to as his *parama pada*, will be the transcendental state, to be attained through everwakefulness, prayers, contemplation and an earnest search for God in the innermost cavity of the heart.

As stated earlier, the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* recommends the technique of *yoga* or spiritual communion characterised by the complete quiescence of mind for the attainment of Viṣṇu's *parama pada*, also called *paramā gatiḥ* (*Kaṭhopaniṣad*, II. 3.10). The fact that Viṣṇu's *parama pada* is the end of soul's spiritual journey, the highest goal, is borne out by later literary evidence :—

Mahābhārata (XI. 7.25) states :—
abhayaṁ sarvabhūtebhyo yo dadāti mahīpate,
sa gacchati paraṁ śāntaṁ Viṣṇoḥ padamanāmayam.

"He, who grants fearlessness to all beings, o king, attains the blessed and blissful abode of Viṣṇu".

Viṣṇu Purāṇa (II. 16) declares :
pradhānapuruṣāvyaktakālānāṁ paramaṁ hi yat,
paśyanti sūrayaḥ śuddhaṁ tadviṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam.

"That is the sacred highest station of Viṣṇu which is beyond *pradhāna* (i.e. *prakṛti*) (individual) soul, unmanifest and time and which the wise sages perceive (constantly)".

Bhāgavata Purāṇa (II, 1.19) says :
tadviṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ mano yatra prasīdati.

"That is the highest location of Viṣṇu where the mind becomes steady and tranquil".

Gītā (XV. 6).
na tadbhāsayate sūryo na śaśāṅko na pāvakaḥ.
yad gatvā na nivartante tad dhāma paramaṁ mama.

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25 The *Gītā* presents this idea in clear terms equating the manifest with cosmic day and the unmanifest with cosmic night. It states :—

"At the coming of the day all manifested things come forth from the unmanifested and at the coming of night they merge in that same unmanifested. Thus all the existences repeatedly arise and merge helplessly..... But beyond this unmanifested, there is yet another unmanifested Eternal Being who does not perish even when all existences perish. This unmanifested is called Imperishable. Him they speak of as *Paramā gatiḥ* or supreme status. Those who attain him do not return. That is my *parama Dhāma* or supreme abode".

Radhakrishnan, S., Tr. *The Bhagavadgītā*. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1958, pp. 233, 34.

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" That is my highest abode which neither the Sun, nor the moon, nor the fire light up, and on attaining which there is no return ".

In addition to this literary evidence, there is also epigraphic evidence to prove that the three steps of Viṣṇu had a spiritual significance. Barnett states that the old mythological feature of the three imperishable steps of Viṣṇu acquired a new spiritual meaning in later times. They are interpreted in the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. as denoting *dama*, self-control *tyāga*, renunciation and *apramāda* vigilance or ever-wakefulness.[26]

The entrance of the spirit or Puruṣa, justifying the name Viṣṇu, is twofold, in as much as he enters first into the cosmic body, generating different deities from his sense-organs, and secondly he enters the individual body in which the deities also afterwards enter as senses. This is mentioned by the commentator Sāyaṇa while commenting on the verse of the *Puruṣasūkta* in which it is stated : " From him (Puruṣa) *Virāj* was born and from *Viraj*, Puruṣa " (X. 90.5). This is explained as follows :—" From *Ādi-Puruṣa* sprang *virāj* in the form of the mundane egg in which, then the *Ādi-Puruṣa* entered as its soul and animated it".[27]

Aitareya Upaniṣad seems to be a detailed exposition of the phenomenon of the Puruṣa's entrance first into the cosmic egg and then into the human body through the aperture at the crown of head. It is made clear in this Upaniṣad that the deities, such as Agni, Sūrya, Vāyu and others were incapable of functioning untill the Puruṣa animated the cosmic egg by entering it as its soul.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (IV. 3.9), Yājñavalkya developed the idea of the Puruṣa, in his aspect of the individual soul, abiding in the cavity of heart. This puruṣa, consisting of intelligence, has mainly two stations, the third being a conjunction between the two. These three *sthānas* or stations are the three states of waking, dream, and deep sleep, in which the puruṣa moves successively. They correspond to the Puruṣa's manifest, unmanifest, and transcendental states at the cosmic level, alluded to in the *Puruṣasūkta*. The *Māṇḍukya Upaniṣad* summarises this interrelation of the one Puruṣa in his cosmic and individual aspects and thereby proves the identity of Ātman with Brahman. Here the Puruṣa is called *catuṣpāt* or consisting of four quarters, but, in fact, he is *tripāt*, because the fourth state is his essential nature which is immanent in all the states. It is called fourth since it is not to be identified with any of the three.

Kaṭhopaniṣad, in a sense, is a commentary on the *Puruṣasūka*, bringing out its esoteric import. It begins with a legend, specially designed to expound the real significance of the all-offering sacrifice, originally conceived in the *Puruṣasūkta*. The Brahmin who is expected to dole away all his possessions,

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26 Barnett, Z. D., *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, wisdom of the East Series, London, 1922, p. 89.

27 *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* (with the commentary of *Sāyaṇācārya*), Poona, 1946, p. 616.

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gifts useless cows to the priests. His son Naciketā represents the true spirit of renunciation and self-transcendence which is the secret of the said sacrifice. A genuine sacrificer has to view the world as an ever-changing flux and discriminate the Self as the changeless, eternal Spirit, To sacrifice the world in this sense and then to transcend the finite self- the very entity that arrogates the world—is the only way to gaining or becoming one with the world and to realising the Infinite Self, the all-pervasive Spirit. Such realisation is said to be the end of soul's journey, the goal of spiritual ascent, which is equated with Viṣṇu's *parama pada*. The Ṛgvedic phrase : "*tad Viṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padam*" (I. 22.20) is quoted in this context at I. 3.9.

This is additional evidence supporting our hypothesis that the deity called Puruṣa, eulogised in the *Puruṣasūkta* is none else but Viṣṇu.

Puruṣasūkta of the *Ṛgveda*, thus, is the germinal presentation of the religious concept which gave rise on the one hand to the philosophy of the Self in the Upaniṣads and to the mode of worship of Viṣṇu, as the Supreme God in the *Pāñcarātra Āgamas* on the other. Viṣṇu, therefore, is the one spirit, appearing in his dual aspect as the core of individual beings and as Supreme God in the universe, simply because of the view-point of seekers after the Ultimate Reality. In both these aspects Viṣṇu has three steps or strides by virtue of which he pervades and penetrates the totality of existence in its three levels, viz., manifest, unmanifest and transcendental. The last is Viṣṇu's own supreme abode, but the other two also are pervaded by him, and, in fact, proceed or emanate from him. It appears that the Vedic concept of Viṣṇu's three strides gave rise to the *Pāñcarātra* idea of *carurvyūha*. If the first *vyūha* which is not really an emanation but the self-existing basic divinity from which emanations proceed, is excluded, we get three emanations. Schrader derives the word *vyūha* from the root *ūh* "to shove" and the preposition *vi* "asunder", thus meaning "shoving asunder", and states that the *Pāñcarātra* teaches a chain, as it were, of emanations; each emanation, except the first, originating from an anterior emanation.[28] These emanations proceed from Vāsudeva, who is identified with Viṣṇu, the highest personal god, and though they signify stages of cosmic evoluation, are named as Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha. In fact, they represent an apportioning of six divine functional powers belonging to the Supreme God. They are conceived as corresponding to God, individual soul, mind and ego respectively in *Lakṣmī Tantra*[29] VI. 9-14. These later religious concepts reflect the development of philosophical ideas about the three states of the cosmic and individual souls, from the original mythological three strides of Viṣṇu.

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28 Schrader, F. O., *Introduction to the Pāñcarāta and the Ahirbudhya Saṁhitā*, Adyar Library, Madras, 1961, p. 35.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

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It is evident from the foregoing discussion, especially that relating to the *parama pada* or the supreme status of Viṣṇu, that his acknowledgement, in the classical mythology, as the chief of all gods is the result of a continuous evolution of religious and philosophical thought, always inspired by the highest objective during the Vedic, post-Vedic and epic periods. The course of this evolution from the very beginning, is characterised by a genuine aspiration to attain the highest peak of religious experience, either through the mode of inner search and discipline called *yoga*, or the method of ritual worship of God, both of which ultimately lead to the realisation of the transcendental, non-dual, all-pervasive Spirit that is immanent in the universe and also is beyond at the same time.

It would be germane to observe, in the context of Viṣṇu's eventual rise to the highest position, that it was a natural and necessary culmination of the basic tendency of the Āryan mind to perceive the essential unity of nature significantly called *Aditi*—the unbounded (I. 89.10) and the divine power ensouling its apparently different forces. It was recognised even in the earliest phase of the religious thought by the Vedic seers that the central reality of nature was unitary and divine, various deities being its attributes or manifestations bearing different names. Apart from numerous textual evidences to this effect, strewn throughout the *Ṛgveda*, it is remarkable that Yāska, who represents an early attempt at interpretation of these texts, states unequivocally that by means of different deities and inanimate objects relating to them, such as their chariot, weapons etc., the one Soul is praised. The generation of gods from each other is to be conceived as another mode of saying that they are produced from the one Soul. He qualifies his statement by saying that this matter should be clearly understood and one should not entertain any doubt regarding this point.[30]

Chowdhary, in this respect, observes that the refrain to *Ṛgveda*, III. 55 : "The mighty divinity of the gods is one" makes explicit the idea of oneness underlying the paradox of mutual generation and alternative supremacy of gods.[31]

Max Müller says that there is a monotheism that precedes polytheism of the Veda. Even in invocations of their innumerable gods, the remembrance of a God, one and infinite, breaks through the mist of an idolatrous phraseology, like the blue sky that is hidden by passing clouds. He maintains that the Western thinkers arrived at a belief in the unity of God at the last stage to which the Greek mind ascended from the depths of a polytheistic faith. But the same cannot be said about India. In this regard the Āryans cannot be compared with

30 Sarup, Lakshman, Tr., *The Nighantu And Nirukta*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1962, p. 115.

31 Chowdhary, Tarapada., *The Vedas, History of Philosophy, Eastern and Western*, Vol. I, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1957, p. 44.

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the Semitic races, since, whereas the Semitic nations relapsed from time to time into polytheism, the Āryans of India seem to have relapsed into monotheism.[32]

That the basic note of the multi-tuned religous song of the Āryans was the quest for the one God is testified by the seer Dīrghatamas who himself asks and answers :

" I ask, unknowing, those who know, the sages, as one ignorant for the sake of knowledge : what was that *one* who bearing the image of the unborn has fixed firm these world's six regions ? " (I. 164.6).

" They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni and he is heavenly nobly-winged Garutmān. To what is one, sages give many a title : they call him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvā " (I. 164.46).

" Praise him who is, verily one, the matchless Lord of men " (VI. 45.16)

' He who bears the (different) names of deities is only one ' (X. 82.3).

' (In the beginning) the one breathed without air. Besides it there was nothing whatsoever ' (X. 129.2).

' The wise sages, with their words, turn into many the eagle that is really one ' (X. 114.5).

' One Agni is kindled variously, one Sun lights up the world, one Uṣā shines upon all this, One, indeed has variously become all this ' (VIII. 58.2).

' In the beginning was Hiraṇyagarbha—the golden germ, the one Lord of all created beings (X. 121.1).

Many gods who were acclaimed as the one Supreme God, were given trial, accepted and subsequently rejected. Viṣṇu, as stated earlier possessed some extra-ordinary attributes, such as pervasiveness, striding widely to give room to all beings and gods, possessing greatness beyond measure, helping Indra in the battle against Vṛtra, maintaining and supporting the eternal ordinances, perceiving the established law and being the ancient germ of law which made him gradually the greatest of all gods. It is to be noted that all the deities, follow the course of *Ṛta* ; Varuna is the guardian of *Ṛta* ; Agni is the first-born of *Ṛta* but significantly enough Viṣṇu is the ancient germ of *Ṛta* or the natural law This important atttribute facilitated his identification in later times, with sacrific and consequently with the spirit controlling the deities that were worshipped i the sacrifice. These deities, at a later period, were conceived as members o cosmic organism, ensouled by the One Spirit. Parallel to this evolution o religious thought, was the development of philosophical thought on spiritu lines, in which the Ṛgvedic description of Viṣṇu's *parama pada* was conceive

32 Muller, F. Max., *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, Bhuvaneshwari Ashra Allahabad, 1926, p. 295.

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as the ultimate goal of individual soul's journey. The three steps of Viṣṇu, by virtue of his nature to pervade and enter everywhere, gave rise to the philosophical concept of soul's three states, which when logically extended were found to correspond to the three levels of existence, manifest, unmanifest and transcendental. Thus, evolution of thought on both religious as well as philosophical fronts, converged and streamlined a course for Viṣṇu to reach the utmost height of divine glory.*

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DICTIONARIES OF VEDIC RITUAL

By

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Because of the complex nature of the vedic ritual and particularly of the nonsystematic (in the case of the Brāhmaṇa-texts) or very terse (in the case of the Sūtra-literature) nature of the vedic texts, explanatory dictionaries are always useful in understanding the exact meaning of the texts and the correct procedure of the ritual performance. Attempts have been made to prepare ritual dictionaries of the veda. In the present paper, it is intended to survey these dictionaries and similar literature and point out their contributions as well as limitations.

A sanskrit treatise, explaining some technical terms in the vedic ritual was composed by Nāgeśwaraśāstrī Somaṇa. It is entitled as *Śrautapadārthanirvacanam.* For some years, it remained unpublished. Another Paṇḍit named Viśvanāthaśāstrī Joshi edited it and published it, in the journal called *Paṇḍita* and also published it, as an independent book (Varanasi, 1944 Saṁvat). Technical ritual terms, which occur in connection with the sacrifices called Haviryajñas, (including the animal—sacrifice and Sautrāmaṇī also) as well as the Agniṣṭoma, (which is the basic sacrifice among the *soma*-sacrifices) are defined in this work in Sanskrit. These terms are defined not in an alphabetical order, but in the order, in which these terms come forward at the time of performance of a rite. The editor has stated that the information given in the present work is based on the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra.* The editor has also given an alphabetical index of the topics dealt with in the book.

The entries in this dictionary are almost entirely connected with the ritual of the *Yajurveda.* The ritual terms belonging to the *Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda* are conspicuously absent in this dictionary. Thus, for example the terms like *dhāyyā nivid, viṣṭuti, pṛṣṭhasāman* etc. are not at all included in this dictionary. Moreover, among the *Soma*-sacrifices only the basic sacrifice is taken into consideration. As a result of this, all the other one-day-sacrifices (*ekāha*), the many-day-sacrifices (*ahīna*) (i.e. the sacrifices performed for two or twelve days) and the sacrificial session (*Sattra*) (the sacrifices performed for twelve or more days) as well as the ritualistic details of these sacrifices are completely excluded. Similarly, a very important ancillary rite, which contains a very large number of sub-rites namely Agnicayana (Fire-altar-building-rite) is also left out of the scope of the present work. As a result of these exclusions, the scope of

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the present work has been narrowed down. Yet as an authentic work giving a lot of preliminary information of vedic *Śrauta* ritual, this dictionary is very reliable and useful to a certain extent.

L. RENOU'S *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (Paris) was published in 1954. This dictionary was prepared as the first volume in the series of technical dictionaries. These dictionaries were proposed to be edited jointly by L. Renou and J. Filliozat. In the editorial introduction of this *vocabulaire*, the editors have stressed the importance of special dictionaries in the various branches of Indology. They pointed out the importance of such dictionaries for the unification of the research done so far and for helping the future research. The usual dictionaries do not supply the necessary technical details. The grammar, logic, sciences, philosophy and arts etc. have their own terminologies and it is necessary to study these separately before we study them comparatively. This type of study is essential for the general study of Indian culture. Having argued in this manner, the editors put forward the schemes of vocabularies of Dharmaśātra and poetics. Renou had already done some work in this direction by publishing his work on grammatical terminology.

RENOU'S *Vocabulaire* of vedic ritual is limited to *Śrauta* ritual only. Thus, it does not cover the *Gṛhya* or any other later ritual. Renou, in his introduction, makes it clear that he has limited his references to the *Āpastamba-śrautasūtra* alone. The reason for this choice was obvious. Thus, this *Śrautasūtra* has an excellent translation into German by W. CALAND. Renou does not claim any kind of completeness. He says that he has omitted the proper names of *Ekāhas* and *Sāmans*. He also mentions the secondary literature, which he used for perparing this *Vocabulaire*. Among the works of this type, he has mentioned EGGELING'S translation of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, HILLEBRANDT'S *Vedische Mythologie* and *Neu and Voll-mondsopfer* and *L. Agniṣṭoma* of CALAND and HENRY.

Since RENOU himself has clearly stated the limitations of his *Vocabulaire*, we need not add much more in this respect. It should, however, be pointed out that RENOU has noted down only the nouns. The roots, adverbs and proper nouns are not included. This has limited its scope further. Thus, if the root *adhi-śri* were mentioned, we could have been able to understand what the *adhiśrayaṇa* of ghee means. The root *ā-sad* is not recorded. Therefore, it is not possible to know the *āsādana* of vessels (*pātra*) means. The nouns *adhiśrayaṇa* or *āsādana* are also not recorded. Although the noun *ālambhana* is recorded, the root *ā-labh* is not recorded. Thus, it will not be possible to understand the difference in meanings of this root, when it is used in connection with animal and when it is used in connection with the altar. Similarly, many other technical terms are not included in this *vocabulaire*. Thus, for example, the terms like *avokṣaṇa, prokṣaṇa, upokṣaṇa, vapāmārjana* etc. are not mentioned here. Similarly,

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adverbs (like *akṣṇayā* etc.) do not find place here. All these points will indicate the limitations of the utility of this *Vocabulaire*. The authors of the ritual dictionaries in general have never realised the necessity of including adverbs in their dictionaries. In respect of many *sāmans*, we find such adverbs like *kṣipram*, *niruktam*, *ahiruktam*, *channam*, *santatam* used in connection with their singing. No dictionary explains these terms.

An important feature of the ritual dictionary,[1] prepared by C.B. SEN is that it includes not only the technical terms of the *Śrauta* ritual, but also those of the *Gṛhya* ritual. It contains references to a large part of the secondary literature in this field. It also has broadened the scope of vedic ritual dictionary by using many more original ritual texts also. It is bigger in size than the earlier lexicographies in this field. It is more exhaustive also. There are some pictures of sacrificial utensils and maps of the sacrificial altar etc.

In this dictionary also, the entries appear to be those of nouns only e.g. *avekṣaṇa*, *citi*, *śastra* etc. After each word, the root in that word is given in the bracket. As an exception, the root *ava-ıam* is recorded separately. (it might have been included in imitation of RENOU S *Vocabularie* p. 21, where also the entry of this root is an exception as no other roots are recorded). The word *avadāna* is recorded, but the root *ava-do* is not recorded. So the reader will not be able to know the meaning of the verbal forms like *avadyati* etc. The word *utpavana* is recorded, but the root *pū* is not recorded separately. Although the root *pū* means to purify in general, the act of purification in the case of ghee, *soma* and the sacrificer being consecrated, differs from each other. So it was very much essential to record the root *pū* separately and indicate the different details of purification in different cases. The author has not done this. Similarly, the root *mā* should have been included. It is not possible to know the technical meaning of this root in connection with its use at the time of describing the purchase of the *Soma*-plants from the meaning given in a general dictionary, the general meaning of the root *car* and the one in the phrase *upāṁśu caranti* are different. It is not possible to know the meanings of the words *caraṇa*, *pracāra* etc. unless the root *car* is recorded and the different meanings are given. In the same way, the roots *pari-kram*, *ud-hṛ*, *adhi-śri* etc. should have been recorded. For, the general meanings of these roots and their ritual, technical meanings are different. The roots like *pari-likh* (used in connection with the *Uparavas*), *ā-sad* (used in the words *pātrāsādana*, *paśvāsādana*), *upa-kṛ* (used in connection with the *dhiṣṇyas* or fire-hearths), the root *sam-mṛj* (used in connection with the firesḷ), *ud-vas* (used in connection with the pravargya—utensils) *upa-ukṣ* (used in connection with the victim) and many others are not mentioned in the present dictionary.

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1 SEN, CHITRABHANU, *Dictionary of Vedic rituals*, Delhi, 1978.

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Even many nouns are not entered in this dictionary. Thus the nouns, like Trikadruka (group of three one-day-soma-sacrifices namely *Jyotiḥ*, *Gauḥ*, *Āyuḥ*), *Paśvāsādana*, *Pātrāsādana*, *Vapāmārjana* do not find place here. In the case of *Paśvāsādana*, the word *Paśu* does not mean here the victim but the limbs of the killed victim, which are to be offered. For this technical meaning, the entry of the *Paśvāsādana* was essential. For we cannot know this meaning from a general dictionary. Similarly, the word *Vapāmārjana*[2] has somet echnical meaning, which cannot be understood by simply knowing *vapā* and *mārjana*. For it does not mean the act of washing ((*mārjana*) of omentum (*vapā*), but that done by the priests etc. for themselves after the offering of omentum. This word is interpreted wrongly in the Böhtlingk-Roth's *Sanskrit Wöterbuch* and MONIER WILLIAMS' *Sanskrit Dictionary* and in many translations of the *Śrauta-sūtra*. This difficult word does not occur in the *Dictionary* of SEN.

The Vaidika Samśodhana Maṇḍaḷa of Poona has published some volumes of the *Śrautakośa* (1958—1973). According to the introduction of the first volume, the earlier plan was to give an alphabetical register of the technical terms, along with their meanings. But that idea was left aside and it was decided to collect together the portions of the basic texts together, for describing various rites. Each volume is published in two sections viz. Sanskrit and English. In the Sanskrit section, portions from the Mantra-texts, Brāhmaṇa-texts and *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra* are given according to their proper order in the ritual performance. In the English section, there are translations of the Śrautasūtras, describing those rites detailed in the Sanskrit section. So far two volumes (in numerous parts) have been published. The first volume deals with the Haviryajñas. The second volume deals with the Agniṣṭoma. The first part of the English section was published in 1973 and the printing of the second part of it, is almost finished and the publication of it, is awaited.

Some changes seem to have taken place in the internal policy of the *Śrautakośa* from time to time. Thus what originally was intended to be a lexicon came out to be an encyclopaedia of the *Śrauta* ritual (see the introduction of Vol. I. 1 (Sanskrit) p. 19). The work of ritual-lexicon was postponed for the last volume. Because of a long gap of time between that volume and other volumes, it is difficult at this moment to predict, when and whether that volume will be published.

In the case of the English sections of the first volume, only the translation of the *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra* is given entirely for the relevant portions. The Mantra and Brāhmaṇa-portions are not translated at all. The Śrautasūtras other than the Baudhāyana (which were not given in the Sanskrit section) are

2 For this word see my paper " Vapāmārjana in the Śrauta-Sūtras " *Archiv Orientalny*, 46, 4 (1978), 338-340.

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translated, but only partly i.e. only those parts of them, which differ from the *Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra*, are translated. In the Agniṣṭoma-section, an improvement is made in this connection and all the Śrautasūtras (with the exception, however, of the *Lāṭyāyana* and *Drāhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtras*) are translated fully and this is really good and should have been done in the first volume also.

A student of vedic religion, who wants to know certain ritual details, often experiences certain difficulties in using this *Śrautakośa*. In the Sanskrit section, only the Mantras, Brāhmaṇa-portions and the *Baudhāyanasrautasūtra* are given. It was necessary to give all the other Śrauta-sūtras also. Then only one could have got a full picture of the performance of a rite along with a comparative view. Moreover, copies of many Śrautasūtras are rare and if the suggestion given here might have been followed, it would have served a great practical purpose and a reader might have got a vivid, classified, and analytical picture. The editors might not have given the other Śrautasūtra-texts with the view to avoid the bulk. But in this case we may say that theoretically, it was not required to print even those texts, which are printed in the Sanskrit section. Because all these texts are printed elsewhere and it would have been sufficient to give simply the accurate figure-references.

As regards the English section, in the first volume only the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra* is translated fully. Other Sūtras are translated, whenever they give something, which is not found in the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*. Even if some Śrautasūtras are already translated into modern languages, some of them are still not translated at all while in case of some, the available translations may be considered as ghost-translations. So if one wants to see the translation of a particular Sūtra, it is likely that it may not be in the *Śrautakośa* also. Thus the reader remains helpless. Moreover, the translations of the Sūtras which are given, are also not given separately for each Sūtra. These translations are given in a group of Sūtras, belonging to a particular topic. So it becomes not a very easy task for a student of vedic religion, who is not a performer of any vedic rite to find out the translation of a particular word or Sūtra in the *Śrautakośa*. It would have been very useful, if figure references might have been given for each Sutra separately and not as a group. Effort is made in the English section to give literal translations (cf. English section I. 1 p. 13 of the Introduction). There are, however, neither explanatory footnotes nor cross-references. There will be no difference of opinion about the importance of footnotes and explanatory additions in the translations of works of technical nature in Sanskrit. In the second volume, some improvement is made. Thus in the second volume, all the Śrautasūtras are translated. But the emphasis on literal translations and absence of explanatory notes continue here also.

If we look from the point of the requirements of the vedic students and research workers in general, the *Śrautakośa* should have been arranged in the

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following way. The Sanskrit section should contain portions not only of the Mantras, Brāhmaṇas and *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* but also of the other Śruta-sūtra-texts. The English section should not have contained literal translations, but rather detailed descriptions of rites in a modern language with all the necessary repetitions, explanations, cross-references, diagrams, etc. This description should accompany references to the basic texts after each sentence and contain comparisons and contrasts between the texts. This would help any student of the vedic religion, not specialised in the technique of vedic ritual, to understand all the necessary details very easily. In the present form of the *Śrautakośa*, a lot of previous knowledge on the part of reader is expected and therefore, it is not within the reach of a common vedic student. On the other hand, one who is really an expert in the vedic ritual may not need the *Śrautakośa* at all. If the *Śrautakośa* might have been prepared in the manner described above, it would have helped a non-specialised student as an easy guide and an expert specialised in the vedic ritual as a reference-book for comparative study.

In addition to the above-mentioned literature, there are some other sources also to get information about ritual technical details. In the *Sanskrit Woerterbuch* of BÖHTLINGK and ROTH, many works of Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa type are used. But very few Śrautasūtras are used in it. The entries of ritual technical terms have therefore some obvious limitations. Moreover, this *Woerterbuch* is a general dictionary of Sanskrit. Therefore, we cannot expect a detailed information about ritual in it. It gives simply the literal meaning of ritual terms. It is important to note that the literal meanings of the words like *aṣṭākapāla*, *dvādaśakapāla* (used as adjectives of sacrificial cake) do not give any idea to a reader about the exact preparation of the cake. So, in addition to the literal meaning, some description is necessary. This cannot be expected to be given in a general dictionary and therefore specialised dictionaries become a need. These remarks can be applied to the *Sanskrit-English-Dictionary* of MONIER WILLIAMS also.

M. HAUG, in his translation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* has described many vedic rites and explained many ritual terms in the footnotes. HAUG himself had seen some rites and therefore his descriptions are vivid. J. EGGELING, in his translation of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* also has explained many ritual terms in his footnotes. He has also given diagrams of sacrificial altar and layers of bricks in the Agnicayana-rite, which are very useful. The description of the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice, given by W. CALAND and V. HENRY in their *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906-1907) is very analytical, clear, comparative and authentic. It is based on many vedic ritual texts and accompanied by some pictures and a brief lexicon of the ritual terms. In the translation of the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* (Calcutta, 1931) Caland has explained many Sāmavedic terms in the ritual. A. MINARD in his *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins* (Paris, I, 1949, II, 1956) has explained many

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ritual terms in his footnotes. W. HOWARD has given a ritual glossary in his book *Sāmavedic Chant* (New Haven, 1977, pp. 501 ff).

From this brief survey of the ritual terminological dictionaries, following conclusions may be drawn. The need for a special dictionary of vedic ritual was felt, since many decades and efforts were made to fulfil this need. These efforts have, however, proved to be scanty and partial. The dictionaries, published so far, have not paid sufficient attention to the Sāmavedic literature in general and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* in particular. A more thorough collection of data as well as a more exhaustive work, not expecting much preparation on the part of the reader, is, however, still a desideratum.

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ĀTMĀNAṂ MĀNUṢAṂ MANYE : DHARMĀKŪTAM ON THE DIVINITY OF RĀMA

By

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Near the climax of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, when, after being freed from captivity, Sītā is forced to undergo the ordeal by fire in order to demonstrate her chastity, Brahmā and Śiva along with the *lokapālas* come before Rāma to remonstrate with him. "How can you watch indifferently while Sītā commits herself to the flames ?" they ask incredulously. "Can you not know that you are the foremost among the hosts of gods ? (VI.105.5). In point of narrative logic, the thrust of the question is not altogether clear. Presumably, as God Rāma would be omniscient, and thus have no need to ascertain the truth of his wife's protestations of fidelity; instead he is behaving "like the commonest of men" (VI.105.8). Be that as it may, the principal purpose, and effect, of the question is to lead into the climactic revelation of Rāma's divinity. First, however, the hero responds, thoroughly mystified : "I think of myself as a man, as Rāma, the son of Daśaratha. Blessed Brahmā, tell me who I really am, whose son, and where I come from" (VI.105.10)[1].

Like so many other passages touching on the divinity of the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the revelation scene has, in the West, been unequivocally and universally regarded as a late interpolation.[2] I do not intend here to take up again in detail the question of the authenticity of this deific representation. I have elsewhere attempted to show that it is not only not adventitious but constitutive of the monumental poem of Vālmīki (an attempt which the following pages may be taken to supplement in a modest way).[3] Nor do I want to address systematically the related issue of the text-critical validation of this and similar episodes. Besides the desultory comments in the body of this paper, I would for the moment

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1 My translation, as are all the rest in this essay. The particular editions of Sanskrit texts (unless otherwise noted), and the abbreviations used to refer to them are those of the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Sanskrit* (Poona, 1976).

2 From at least as early as Muir ("..... this chapter, as it now stands, could not have formed part of the original Ramāyaṇa" [*Original Sanskrit Texts*, (London, 1874)], Vol. IV, p. 178), to, most recently, van Daalen ("(I) n 6.105 the gods call Rāma the foremost of the gods..... Rāma's divinity is obviously inconsistent with the concept of Rāma as a truly human hero; we can safely assume that Rāma was utterly human in the original Rāmāyaṇa" (*Vālmīki's Sanskrit* (Leiden, 1980)), p. 139; cf. p. 190).

3 See my "The Divine King in the Indian Epic" *JAOS* 104.3, (1984).

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simply note that here, as so often, the critical edition of the epic suggests a text-historical problem of considerably greater complexity than previously supposed, and a closer, virtually inextricable bond between a good number of the suspect passages and the " authentic " text.

What I wish instead to examine here is the traditional interpretation of this episode. In part, I view this as an exercise, interesting and valuable in its own right, in understanding the dynamics of literary response in medieval India. But more important, I believe this interpretation may reflect some trans-historically authentic attitudes, may address a set of concerns shared by the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which can aid us in attaining a deeper appreciation of the poem. As anyone can attest who has worked extensively with the commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa* (or, for that matter, with those on any other culturally significant Sanskrit literary text), scholiasts will often show a stubborn, almost perverse predilection for the utterly improbable or impossible exegesis, and can seem thoroughly disingenuous in the process. And yet, with equal frequency they can explain the text in ways that elicit our immediate assent, which we are prepered to grant both for reasons of common sense and because we can recognize that their explanation often accounts for more, and is falsified by less, of the narrative than other interpretations.

By far the most elaborate commentary on Rāma's confession of self-ignorance, and one which touches on the greater part of the issues traditionally discussed, is that of the recently published *Dharmākūtam*[4] The whole argument is of considerable interest, and before examining its specific points of value, I think it will prove helpful to translate the section in full[5].

It might be objected that the surface meaning of this verse [VI.105.10]—namely, that Rāma is ignorant of his true nature and believes himself to be a man—makes no real sense. For Rāma is elsewhere shown to possess the knowledge that he is Viṣṇu. Compare the words of Brahmā [VI. 105.25] : " Sītā is Lakṣmī and you are the god Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Prajāpati; you took on a human body in order to slay Rāvaṇa "; similarly Durvāsa's statement in explaining the curse of Bhṛgu : " In a towering rage he cursed the mighty Viṣṇu, saying, ' Since in anger you slew my wife, who was inviolable, Janārdana, you shall be born

4 This is in fact a series of veritable treatises on *dharma* and related matters in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It was written by one Tryambaka Makhin, minister at the court of the Tanjore king Serfoji I (1711-1728), and a very well-read man indeed, from whom I have learned a great deal. The volume on the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* was edited by K. Vasudeva Sastri (Srirangam, 1964; Tanjore Saraswathi Mahal Series, No. 111).

5 Pp. 339-345. All references are here keyed to the critical edition of the poem. Brackets alone (and not parentheses) enclose material not in the text (with the obvious exception of Sanskrit words). Later references to the vulg(ate) are made to the Venkatesvara Press edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay, 1935), unless otherwise noted.

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into the world of men'" [VII. App. I No. 7-9]: and finally the statements in Book I, where the gods first implore Viṣṇu, "We would lay a charge upon you, Viṣṇu, with the best interests of the world at heart" [I. 14.17], and the Supreme God then is said to "chose as his father Daśaratha" [I. 15.7]. In view of this fact it is unreasonable to hold that the omniscient Lord, who himself rules over the power of nescience [*māyā*], could be subject to ignorance regarding his true nature [read *svarūpāvārakājñāna-*]. Moreover, he is elsewhere informed that in his true nature he is the Supreme Self, by Paraśurāma, for example, in I[75.17] ("I know, by your stringing this bow, that you are the supreme god among gods, the imperishable slaryer of Madhu. Hail, slayer of foes"), and by Lakṣmaṇa when comforting him in his grief over the loss of the magical figure of Sītā ("Do you not understand who you are, great brother, the Great One himself?" [VI. 1585*]).[6] Finally, since Lakṣmaṇa, who is a portion of Him, is shown to know his own true nature ("Saumitri, wounded in the chest by the Brahma missile, remembered that he was himself a portion of Viṣṇu, beyond comprehension....." [VI. 47.104]), it goes without saying that Rāma must have ascertained his own true nature.

Now, in reply one may readily grant that He who rules over the power of nescience cannot have his knowledge obscured by it. Nevertheless, when Brahmā and the rest of the gods solicited his help ("O Viṣṇu, become a man and slay Rāvaṇa in battle, this massive thorn in the side of the world, whom the gods are unable to destroy" [I. 14.19]), he intentionally adopted the nature of a human being. It is inevitable, therefore, that he should believe himself to be a man, and so be completely ignorant of his true nature. One might object that, just because according to the verse cited he must inevitably become a man, there is on reason to suppose he must therefore necessarily be ignorant. But that objection does not hold. The *ātmā* is inherently and essentially disembodied; "becoming a man" means, precisely, taking on a human body, and, since the latter is purely the consequence of wrong knowledge, Rāma must inevitably be subject to it. (The causal relationship between false knowledge and physical embodiment is expounded in the *Śārīrakabhāṣya* [in the *sūtra*] on "uniformity of referential significance."[7]) And thus is proved his susceptibility to ignorance, which would obscure [his awareness of] his true nature. On this analysis, moreover, Garuḍa's words in VI. 835* recover their peculiar propriety: "Do not be overcurious about my friendship for you, Rāghava. When you have done your deeds of battle, Rāma, you shall understand it fully." For in asserting that only after slaying Rāvaṇa can Rāma become aware that he is Viṣṇu—the determinative

6 The principal evidence against this last verse is its absence in the so-called western recension (represented here by D 3, 4).

7 That is, Śaṅkara's commentary on *Vedāntasūtra* I. 1.4, which Tryambaka goes on to cite (cf. ed. Benares, 1929 (Kashi Sanskrit Series 77), pp. 188). See also below, p. 12 and n. 15.

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factor in Garuḍa's friendship for him—what Garuḍa in essence is saying is that prior to slaying Rāvaṇa Rāma cannot know his true nature, since in fact the destruction of Rāvaṇa can only be achieved by a human being.

Similarly, the seers such as Viśvāmitra and the others, though fully aware of Rama's identity with Viṣṇu by reason of their ascetic powers, did not straightway make it known. They supplied the arms to be used in slaying Rāvaṇa, and only afterwards did they reveal the identity. That these men were indeed aware of Rāma's true nature prior to the slaying of Rāvaṇa is shown by Viśvāmitra's words to Daśaratha : "I know who great Rāma is, the prince who always strives for truth; so does mighty Vasiṣṭha and all others who are exercised in asceticism" [I. 18.14].[8] His father Daśaratha, for his part, was unaware of Rāma's identity with Viṣṇu prior to the slaying of Rāvaṇa; afterwards, however, he realized it, as he explains late in Book VI : "Now at last I understand, dear son, how it was by the gods' doing that [you,] supreme among men, were destined for this, for bringing about the death of Rāvaṇa" [VI. 107.17].

Again, it is after slaying Rāvaṇa and only then that Rāma can be informed of his true nature, as in Agastya's address to him in Book VII : "There is no one who could slay the *rākṣasas*, the enemies of the gods, thorns in the sides of the deities—no one but the god Nārāyaṇa, he who bears the conch-shell, discus and mace. You are Nārāyaṇa, the ever-lasting god with four arms, the eternal unborn god who took birth in order to slay the *rākṣasa*" [VII.8.24, with minor variants]. Rāvaṇa likewise thinks of Rāma only as a man : "I am familiar with that man, Rāma, the son of Daśaratha" [VI.1026*.1], and he elsewhere speaks of him only as such (e.g., "I have been conquered by a man...." [VI.48.5]). In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* as well [the consequence of] Rāvaṇa's believing Rāma to be a man is treated of at length [IV.15.1-17][9]. Precisely with this in mind

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8 The most recent translator of the *Bālakāṇḍa* rejects this, the traditional, interpretation of the verse in the belief that it is not indicated by the "straightforward matter" of the text (R. P. Goldman, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki* Vol. I [Princeton, 1984], n. ad loc.). I disagree. The final phrase certainly suggests that only those endowed with ascetic powers "know Rāma", and then, why should asceticism be a condition of merely knowing the hero's valor (as it is thought), with which everyone in Ayodhyā is familiar? Anyway, the "sectarian" identification of Rāma with Viṣṇu is thoroughly established for the *Bālakāṇḍa*, and so there is really no need to try to eliminate it here.

9 Ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1910. The passage is worth summarizing: Maitreya asks why the great *asura*, in his births both as Hiraṇyakaśipu and Rāvaṇa, failed to attain "absorption" in Viṣṇu as a result of being slain by the great god, whereas this occured in his birth as Śiśupāla. Parāśara replies that neither of the two was aware that it was indeed Viṣṇu who was incarnated in the man-lion and human forms. They attained progressively higher births, but not liberation. This, however, was achieved by Śiśupāla: By constantly reciting the names of Krishna and bearing him in his heart-though it was all done out of sheer hatred—the demon was purified of all his sins, and so upon dying at the hands of Viṣṇu was absorbed in Him. Tilaka (ad III.60.1 [= III.64-1 of the Gujarati Printing Press edition]) Similarly

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Sarvajñā [tma] muni[10] wrote, " It was an intentional act on the part of the delight of the Raghus that he became for some time ignorant [of his true nature]. Once the task of the gods had been achieved, and he had received instruction [from Brahmā] about his true self—which was merely the apparent cause [of his realization]—he abandoned this [ignorance]. "

Consequently, neither Rāma when setting out to slay Rāvaṇa, nor Rāvaṇa himself when about to be slain had any notion that Rāma was in fact Viṣṇu. Had either of them known Rāma's true nature, he could never have slain Rāvaṇa, for the *rākṣasa* was invulnerable to gods. That he was in fact invulnerable not only to the gods in general but to Viṣṇu as well is stated in Book VII : " But gods or *dānavas* at any rate cannot slay the wicked creature in battle. The gift of a boon has made him unconquerable....Nor shall I [Viṣṇu] fight against Rāvaṇa, overlord of *rākṣasas* : Viṣṇu never returns from battle without slaying his enemy, and this desire of mine could never be fulfilled now that the *rākṣasa* has acquired a boon " [VII. 27.14-17]. This [the authenticity of the theme] is attested to likewise by the *Mahābhārata*. In Book III Rāvaṇa asks, " Let me never suffer defeat at the hands of *gandharvas*, gods, *asuras*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, serpents or *kiṃnaras*, " to which Brahmā replies, " You shall never have to fear any creature among those that you have stipulated. You need never fear any but man; so it please you, and thus do I ordain it " [III.295.25-26 crit. ed.]. Thus in Book I of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, " Because of his contempt for them the *rākṣasa* did not stipulate men in his boon. Therefore it can be only a man, no one else, that shall cause his death.... Become therefore a man, Viṣṇu, and slay Rāvaṇa in combat, this terrible thorn in the side of the world, who is invulnerable to all the gods " [I.14.14, 19]. In Book VI, likewise, Rāvaṇa himself says, " Here, at last, those terrible words of Brahmā's have come home to me : ' Know that men still pose a dangerto you. ' I had secured invulnerability with respect to gods, *dānavas*, *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣāsas*, Serpents; but with respect to men, I had never asked for it " [VI.48.4-7]. In conclusion, then, it is necessary we have some indication that Rāma's intelligence is obscured by the inconceivable power of nescience, for this is indispensible to his believing himself a man, which as we have seen is itself essential [to the narrative].

Let us now consider those instances where Paraśurāma [I.75.17] and Lakṣmaṇa [VI.1585*] enlighten Rāma. It does not at all follow that in consequence Rāma would necessarily be led to ascertain his true nature. Inasmuch as, for the reasons adduced, no counterindication can be given [prior to the

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remarks that Rām's show of grief at the disappearance of Sītā from Janasthāna inhibits Rāvaṇa from realizing him to be divine, which in turn prevents the *rākṣasa* from attaining *mokṣa* after being slain at his hands.

10 C. A.D. 850-900. I have traced this verse to his *Saṁkṣepaśārīraka* (edited by N. Veezhinathan [Madras, 1972]), 2. 182 (p. 337).

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slaying of Rāvaṇa] with respect to Rāma's believing himself a man, these two passages must be interpreted as having some other signification.

In the first case, Paraśurāma engages Rāma in a duel without at all being aware that he is Viṣṇu. Rāma's stringing his bow gives him to realize that he has superhuman powers, and he concludes, remorsefully, that he must be Viṣṇu.. Rāma, however, simply supposes that his opponent, terrified at his having drawn his bow, is praising him. And on this interpretation no objection can be raised to Paraśurāma's words.

When Rāma is grief-stricken over the loss of the magical figure of Sītā [VI.70], and Lakṣmaṇa asks him if he truly understands "himself", Rāma must take him to be urging the kind of self-reflection employed to assuage grief such as he was then feeling, not any ascertainment of his true nature. (This type of self-reflection is mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, "He who knows himself [the Self] crosses over sorrow" [VII. 1.3].) It is erroneous to maintain that since Lakṣmaṇa, who is a portion of Rāma, has ascertained his true nature [VI. 47.104] a fortiori Rāma must have likewise. Lakṣmaṇa's task is to slay Indrajit and others for whom no restriction is in effect that they be slain only by a man. Thus there is nothing stopping him from ascertaining his true nature. In Rāma's case, as we have said, no counterindication must be given to his believing himself a man (prior to the slaying of Rāvaṇa), and this is achieved by his true nature being hidden from him. In actual fact, however, since it is only at the moment of fainting that Lakṣmaṇa ascertains he is a portion of Viṣṇu, in his normal state he has no such knowledge. Thus the ensuing verse, "Recollecting himself, catching his breath and having the arrow removed ....." [VI. 47.115], shows that he has only a normal self-awareness after the pain of fainting has passed[11].

One might even yet object that, granted all that has been asserted here is true, none the less Rāma's request ("....tell me who I really am .....") and Brahmā's response are really quite unnecessary *after* Rāvaṇa has been slain, because the termination of Rāma's ignorance, and his ensuing knowledge of his true nature, should then come about as a matter of course. That, however, would not be a cogent argument. For it is everywhere shown to hold true that one who believes himself nothing but a man attains knowledge of his true nature [read—*jñānasya saṃpādanīyatvāt*] only as a result of instruction (cf. the scriptural statements, "Only a man who has a teacher knows ....." [*ChāndoU.* VI. 14.2]; "Unless proclaimed by one who knows It as non-different, there is no way to It" [*Kāṭha U.*I. 2.8]. Rāma likewise, therefore, could acquire the knowledge that puts an end to ignorance only by the instruction of a teacher. This notion has been set forth in the commentary on the *Dvādaśamañjarī* [on the following

11 Tryambaka misquotes here. The verse actually runs, "Catching his breath and having the arrow removed, remembering himself to be an inconceivable portion of Viṣṇu," though the impossible final participle, among other things, does suggest some corruption here.

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verse][12] : " By means of the words of a teacher Rāghava, when deluded by his existence as a man, came to know that he was Viṣṇu; in the same way the one called Rādheya, himself unaware of it, came to know that he was a king; in the same way a man who knows to count but to nine learns ten when he has a tenth child. And in the same way, by the words of a teacher, an awareness that one is *brahma* arises conclusively in one's mind."[13] Toṭakācārya[14] likewise writes, " Just as was told to the delight of the Raghus, every embodied being must be told these two [words, *tat*, *tvam*(*asi*)] which are in no way inconsistent : The knowledge of the Self [is] always [attained] exclusively as a result of instruction, so always the fact that it is identical with the Supreme Self."

In sum, adopting the nature of a human being up till the slaying of Rāvaṇa he was Rāma, and then Viṣṇu when this human condition was dispelled by the instruction of Brahmā, and he comprehended his true nature. One should not find anything amazing in this. It is the conclusion of all vedānta systems that once the physical body has been created by means of the water, fire and so on of the existent *brahma*, the living soul enters it and so becomes a transmigrating entity; but by means of the instruction of a teacher (" That art thou, " and the like) it recovers its true nature. Thus in *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* [VIII.12.1] : " The mortal body is possessed by death, but at the same time is the location of the immortal, bodiless Self. When embodied, the Self is possessed by pleasure and pain. So long as the Self is embodied, pleasure and pain do not leave it; but when it is disembodied, pleasure and pain do not touch it. "[15]

It is worth noting that, should such an embodied being acquire knowledge of his true self merely to effect some transient purpose or other, the knowledge does not last. Thus, in order to convince Arjuna to fight, the Blessed Krishna revealed to him his true nature.[16] Later on, however, when Arjuna puts a question to him, Krishna discovers that his friend has forgotten what he had shown him.[17]

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12 The work (to my knowledge never printed) is attributed to Śaṅkara. Is the commentary supposed to be Tryambaka's ?

13 As cited (p. 344) the verse appears to be corrupt. It lacks two *laghu akṣaras* in *pāda* d, while *rādhey*—[for *rādhaya*—) seems to be required both for sense and *metricausa*.

14 One of the four direct students of Śaṅkara (thus c. A.D. 800). I have located this quotation in his *Śrutisārasamuddhāraṇa* vs. 85 (in the only edition available to me: Edited by Svami Vidyanandagiri [Rsikesh, 1972]). We must correct Tryambaka, and read in *pāda* c *matiḥ* (for *gatiḥ*), and in *pāda* d, —*satattva*—*for*—*satatva*—).

15 Along with the passage Tryambaka cites (p. 344) the commentary of Śaṅkara, which is not dissimilar in import to the *Brahmasūtra* passage mentioned above (n. 7).

16 Curiously (given his earlier arguments) Tryambaka finds nothing inconsistent in the fact that Krishna for his part is unaffected by the epistemological constraints of his incarnation.

17 Tryambaka cites *MBh.* XIV.16.9 ff.: Arjuna's question is contained in VSS. 5-7.

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To summarize : Rāma i truly Viṣṇu, but in order to effect the purposes of the gods he intentionally became a human being; the obscuration of his true nature, and the ensuing question and revelation, have therefore perfect propriety.

What strikes me as one of the more important things about Tryambaka's interpretation is that it seems competent to explain more of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vālmīki's monumental version, to which we have access through the critical edition) than one which refuses to acknowledge that the divinity of the hero is an authentic feature of the poem. It may strain credibility to suggest that the metaphysical notion linking embodiment and ignorance—if apparently quite ancient (and clearly connected by a relatively old *Advaita* tradition with the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the quotations from Toṭaka and Sarvajñātma, inter alia, prove)—fundamentally informed Vālmīki's poem. Nevertheless, Tryambaka directs our attention to areas that may well contain more than a grain of truth. I wish now to explore several of them, at least those that pertain to Books II-VI.

Perhaps more than any other commentator Tryambaka perceptively recognizes the significance of the boon granted to Rāvaṇa. As I have tried to show in detail elsewhere [18], this theme, which in fact is far more pervasive than even the scholiast may have known, is not only securely attested, but appears to be an essential condition of the narrative, a basic component of the developed legend of Rāma. My point in the earlier essay was that the divine king of traditional India is precisely the one being that escapes the limitations of the boon. For he is a being with the power of a god (principally, though by no means exclusively, through a fundamental, substantial relationship with Viṣṇu, a conception of great antiquity), and yet still participating in the world of mortality—a being who is consubstantially god and man, and who in some definite sense transcends the gods (since it is he alone that can slay Rāvaṇa). For Tryambàka and all the traditional commentators on the poem, the solution the text offers to Rāvaṇa's boon is understood with a slight variation : not a god-man in quite the sense I propose, but instead a god " in the form of a man " (a topic of divergent theological interpretation, as we shall notice below), an incarnation of Viṣṇu. On the former view the transcendent being, it would seem, cannot know his true nature, for he " remains, in some measure, a man " [VII. App. I No. 10.28]. On the latter, not only is he constrained by comparable, natural limitations of an epistemological sort, but he must not know : It is only the ignorance of his divinity that ensures he is in some way not altogether divine; were he to know, there would be, by the conditions of the boon, no possibility of his slaying Rāvaṇa. On either interpretation, the ignorance of the hero, a direct function of the essential theme of the boon, itself becomes essential to the narrative. Thus, far from foisting upon the poem a set of extrinsic and

18 Pollock, *op. cit.*, passim.

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alien concerns, Tryambaka's interpretation articulates inherent problems, and offers some cogent explanations.

Consider for example the "propriety" with which Garuḍa's words in VI. 40 can now be re-invested. Tryambaka's interpretation is, unarguably I would say, the correct one. However, the real questions we must address are, first, does the passage cited have any sure claim to textual authenticity, and second, is there any evidence elsewhere in the poem supporting the possibility of such irony (deriving from the fact that the audience is allowed to share in the knowledge of the hero's divinity, while this is hidden from the hero himself) ?

The verse singled out by Tryambaka has, it is true, been rejected by the critical edition (VI. 835*, reported in all southern manuscripts) :

na ca kautūhalaṃ kāryaṃ sakhitvaṃ prati rāghava|
kṛtakarmā raṇe vīra sakhitvam anuvetsyasi||

Yet this rejection is the result, in my view, of an unreflective application of editorial principles. For note that the identical notion is represented in 833*, the version of the northern recension :

kāraṇaṃ ca vayasyatve na praṣṭavyo 'smi rāghava |
nihate rāvaṇe pāpe sakhitvaṃ jñāsyase' nagha ||

Not only does the census of manuscripts here show that the narrative element is contained in every manuscript used by the critical edition, but this is precisely the type of variation most indicative of the oral stratum of the text, which may claim the greatest antiquity in the history of the transmission of the poem[19].

Anyway, whether or not we accept this particular verse as genuine, as a whole the episode of Garuḍa's healing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is fully represented in our codices, and thus we are still obliged to explain its purpose. Of course, Indrajit's *sarpabandha*, in which Rāma has been ensnared, is made of *kādraveya* snakes (VI.40.49), and the enmity between Garuḍa and his "cousins" is the subject matter of ancient myth. But why then have we the repeated and well-attested assertions of Garuḍa's friendship with Rāma (VI.40.46, 51, etc.) ? The explanation offered by Tryambaka, cogent in itself, derives additional support from an earlier incident that is clearly parallel, Rāma's encounter with Indra in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* (III.4.4. ff.) : "Nearing the abode of Śarabhaṅga.. Rāma saw a great marvel. He saw the Lord of the wise gods himself, his body luminous as fire or the sun...." and, as Rāma advances to meet the god, "Indra caught sight of him....and said, 'That man approaching is Rāma. Before he can address me, lead me off to my residence ; hereafter he may see me.

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19 See my "Text-critical Observations on Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa" (*Sternbach Felicitation Volume* [Lucknow, 1981], pp. 317 ff.), and "The Rāmāyaṇa Text and the Critical Edition" (in Goldman, *op. cit.*).

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When he has accomplished his task and achieved victory, I will straightway see him. For he has a great deed to do, all but impossible for anyone else.' "The significance of this passage, to which no hint of interpolation attaches, is exactly comparable, in my opinion, to the Garuḍa incident as interpreted by Tryambaka. As one commentator on the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* explains, "Were Indra to speak with Rāma he would thereby reveal Rāma's divine nature.... and he must do his great deed—the slaying of Rāvaṇa and so on—in the guise of a man" (Govindarāja ad III.4.18-19 [= 5.22-23 vulg.] : so too basically Kataka)[20].

It is worth observing also that, within the generally singleminded narrative of the *Araṇyakāṇḍa*, one of the few digressions concerns Garuḍa. The story, relating the bird's quest for the drink of immortality[21], is told while Rāvaṇa is flying over the ocean, headed for Mārīca's *āśrama* to commit the outrage upon Rāma that will seal his doom. It seems an odd, almost gratuituous, and quite uncharacteristic, divagation. Once more, I believe, some explanation is called for, and the most compelling seems again to be that of the medieval scholiasts : "The poet here is mocking Rāvaṇa ; he is implying how stupid he is to be opposing Rāma [= Viṣṇu], by showing us that even his mount [Garuḍa] has such illimitable power" (Govindarāja ad III.33.28 [= 35.27 vulg.]).

If a given passage, therefore, can be shown to have precisely the quality of textual authority as any other part of the poem, and if narratively it is not atypical but closely paralleled elsewhere in the work, then it becomes very hard to see how we can persuasively identify it as an interpolation. Recalcitrant subjectivity in these matters only introduces an extreme relativism, and finally tells us less about the text than about the interpreter himself.

The self-recognition of Lakṣmaṇa (VI. 47. 104 ff.) presents a problem of interpretation that is not solved by appeal to parallel instances. In this episode the prince is wounded by a lance hurled by Rāvaṇa :

> Struck by the Brahma-lance in the middle of chest, Saumitri remembered himself, his own inconceivable portion of Viṣṇu (104). Rāvaṇa, the thorn in the side of all the gods, then sought to squeeze him in his arms—Saumitri, who could shatter the pride of *dānavas*—but he proved unable to raise him (105). He could lift Mount Himālaya, Mandara, or Meru, he could lift the three worlds in his arms,[22] but not the younger brother of

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20 Edited by N. S. Venkatanathacharya (Mysore, 1965), ad. III.5.22.

21 III.33.28-35 (a fuller epic version of the myth is found in *MBh.* 1.24 ff.); cf. also the interesting allusion at *Rām.* II.22-14.

22 Compare III.47.3-4; "I [Rāvaṇa] could lift the earth in my arms while standing in the sky: I could drink up the ocean, I could slay Death in battle. With my sharp arrows I could shatter the earth or bring the sun to a standstill....."

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Bharata[23] in battle (106). Rāvaṇa stood astonished beholding the unconscious Lakṣmaṇa, a portion of viṣṇu embodied in a human form (107).... But because of the friendship and deep devotion that Hanumān, son of the wind bore him, he became light in the hands of the monkey, though his enemies could not budge him (112).... Catching his breath and having the arrow removed, remembering himself to be an inconceivable portion of Viṣṇu (115) ....

While there is some minor manuscript disagreement here (vs. 106 is missing in the north-western version; several southern manuscripts omit vs. 107, and as noted above there is some uncertainty about the correct constitution of vs. 115), it is hardly sufficient to throw text-critical doubt over the passage as a whole, for which we have otherwise overwhelming testimony. Indeed, as even the most uncompromising of analysts is forced to admit, the passage would appear to present us with yet another of those self-contradictory cases, an archetypal interpolation : "As to 6, 47, 104; 115..[we] must now suppose an interpolation in all the recensions, already occurring in the archetype."[24] There is virtually nothing to impugn the authenticity of the verses, except of course the a priori conviction that such "sectarian" interests could (or, should) have been no concern of Vālmīki's. The burden of proof, therefore, must be placed back where it rightly belongs, on those who share such a conviction; those who do not are under no obligation to demonstrate the necessity and indispensability of the passage, an undertaking which for a literary text is often, if not always futile.

It may prove of interest briefly to examine here the divergent theological understanding of the Rāma *avatāra* alluded to earlier, by considering the animadversions of the commentators provoked by this particular passage. With the exception of his explanation of VI. 47. 115 (see above, p. 10 and n. 11), Tryambaka's interpretation strikes me as quite sound. It is not, however, the dominant interpretation of the southern school. That is represented by Govindarāja, who articulates generally the allegorical reading of the Vaḍagalai Vaiṣṇavas.[25] His

23 Govindarāja persuasively remarks that the epithet (which, while I have no actual figures, appears to be extremely rare in reference to Lakṣmaṇa) implies how impossible it would be for Rāvaṇa to defeat Rāma, since he cannot even lift his younger brother's younger brother, who has only a quarter of his potency [for the arithmetic cf. I. 15.25-27].

24 Van Daalen, op. cit., p. 190 (the author adds, rather cryptically, "I think the supposition is very attractive"). If I may offer the observation without sounding too petulant, Indological scholarship has probably few parallel cases of such illogical denial in the teeth of evidence as has occurred in the interpretation of Rāma's divinity over the past 150 years. Even when every single manuscript—every possible source of our knowledge of the poem—testifies in its favor, the representation can still be banished to the outer reaches of authenticity, to this suppositious archetype, whose sole raison d'etre seems to be to provide a ghetto for ideas believed to be alien to the "original" *Rāmāyaṇa*.

25 The topic is examined at length in a paper of mine, currently in preparation, on the Śrīvaiṣṇava allegorical interpretation of the *Ramāyaṇa*.

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position is made clear when he remarks " Lakṣmaṇa has the power to know [his real essence] even when he is in a faint. This is set forth here for us so that we realize that those few places where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are shown to be ignorant or weak are only meant to complete their costume as mortal beings [*mānuṣa-veṣanirvahaṇapara-*] " (ad VI. 47.115 = 59.120 vulg.). For Govindarāja and the majority of southern commentators, Viṣṇu's *avatāra* as man has a pre-eminently didactic purpose (this is the position set forth in some detail in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*)[26], and consequently his behavior has something of the dramatic presentation about it. God's ignorance or suffering is not—cannot—be real; it is mimetic, adopted to encourage adherence to *dharma* by supplying a model recognizably human, even if, in the interests of verisimilitude, instances of doubt and weakness on the part of Rāma should thereby be necessitated.

I do not at present intend to set out in detail the position of Govindarāja's principal target here, Maheśvaratīrtha. Suffice it to say that in general for him, as apparently an adherent of the Tengalai school, " everything that happens in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is absolutely, literally true " (ad II. 36.9 [= 41.10 vulg.]).[27] Although this position is not explicit in Maheśvara's comments here, it fundamentally informs them : " .... [Lakṣmaṇa] called to mind the Blessed Viṣṇu, his own root cause, in order to obviate the disaster about to happen to him [i.e., only for this one purpose]. Otherwise, were this memory always present, the motion that he is a man——which must always be present——would be contradicted. And were it in fact contradicted, the deeds that must thereby be effected——the destruction of Rāvaṇa and the rest——would not be possible. This recollection is the cause for the heaviness Lakṣmaṇa's body takes on " [ad VI.47.104 (= 59.112 vulg.)][28].

Govindarāja answers his predecessor point by point :

> This heaviness is the natural condition of his body [and not suddenly taken on], for he is not said to do any other act than " remember " his true form. It is wrong to hold that Lakṣmaṇa's recollection brings about the heaviness of his body. Neither the sentences nor the individual words can bear that meaning. Nor is there any proof that recollecting one's own form is the cause of heaviness. Further, the claim that he remembers Viṣṇu....to obviate the disaster, is also wrong. He himself *is* Viṣṇu, nor

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26 See Pollock, op. cit. (n. 3), and my forthcoming paper, " Rāma's Madness " (WZKSA) ".

27 See further on these differentiations in *Aṣṭādaśabhedanirṇaya* (ed. S. Siauve [Pondichery, 1978]), pp. 62-63.

28 Maheśvaratīrtha elsewhere does employ the exegetical principle of the mimetic dimension of Rāma's incarnation, and similarly can reject the notion that Rāma could truly be ignorant: "..... Those who assert that in his fractional [*avatāras*] the wisdom of the Blessed One is veiled over with *māyā* should hide their faces " (ad III. 64.29-30 [= III. 68-29-30 vulg.]).

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is there any other way to avoid the disaster. Erroneous also is the claim that he must think on Viṣṇu [actively], because otherwise, if his body became heavy of itself, the conviction of his being a man would be contradicted[29]. For regular worldly beings cannot know what his mental belief is, and so the belief in his being a man remains unchallenged. In truth, it is by his inherent nature, as an entity beyond all censure, to be, now heavy, now light, according as devotees or enemies [lift it]. That is why it is said to be " incomprehensible ". [ad VI.47.104 (= 59.112 vulg.)]

Again, whatever we may judge to be the merits of any of these traditional theological exegeses, it seems increasingly clear that they may not be thoroughly anachronistic nor all that far from the mark. What after all can this motif of the *deus absconditus*, the " hidden god, " mean, and why is it present in our poem at all ? As an interpolation it would seem to be a singularly odd one, while as a legitimate feature of the text it construes meaningfully with the central themes of the poem as a whole. For the text as a whole, I believe, feels it has something profoundly important to tell us, very generally, about man's understanding of the divine, his (possibly inevitable) failure to understand, and the natural limitations to understanding that the human condition enforces; and quite specifically (from what I have called a political-theological perspective), about the peculiar self-awareness of those gods among men, kings—or (if one prefers the medieval reading) about God's antinomic actions during his incarnations, those miraculous interventions in the realm of necessity. Text-critically and on the evidence of the internal logic of the narrative, the general problematic which has provoked these traditional interpretations would appear to be to a great extent an authentic one, largely shared by the artist who fashioned India's first poem.

In comparable fashion Kataka argues that any apparent diminution of Rāma's omniscience is merely a self-willed concealment by means of *tamaḥ* (ad III. 60.38 (= III. 64.56 vulg.), 64.30 [= 68.30 vulg.]), etc.

29 The question is often left unexamined in the commentators: precisely whose conviction is this supposed to be, that of outsiders (especially Rāvaṇa), and/or Lakṣmaṇa's (and Rāma's)? For Govindarāja, unlike the *Dharmākūtam*, it seems to be solely the former, as for Tilaka, who, as I note in my essay on Rāma's madness (above, n. 26), argues that Rāma's show of grief (made known to Rāvaṇa by spies) is intended to confirm that the demon has to do with a man, in order that he can be slain in compliance with the terms of the boon: negatively, were the hero to show no anger at such a moment, Rāvaṇa would be convinced that he is not a man (ad loc. cit., above n. 9).

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A GHOST-AUTHOR ON DHARMA : SŪTA

By

ROSANE ROCHER*[1]

Few reference works available to Sanskritists are as consistently reliable as Laxmanshastri Joshi's *Dharmakośa*. Culled from a vast array of sources and produced with painstaking care, it represents the foremost source book for any student of *dharmaśāstra*. Yet, by its very nature, the *Dharmakośa* is bound to share in the deficiencies of the editions or manuscripts of texts on which it is based, and to record faulty readings they may contain. Fortunately Laxmanshastri Joshi's superb system of references and appended lists alerts us to the instances in which the body of evidence is limited and possibly open to doubt. Thus the list of authors on *dharma* prefixed to vol. 1, part 2 (p. lxxviii) shows that an author by the name of Sūta is known only for one pronouncement on *strīdhana*. Turning to the actual text (recorded in the same volume, p 1463), the reader is presented with the full body of evidence, which in this case is extremely restricted. Laxmanshastri Joshi's note reveals that the text of Sūta :

यद्दत्तं दुहितुः पत्ये स्त्रियमेव तदन्वियात् ।
मृते जीवति वा पत्यौ तदपत्यमृते स्त्रियाः ॥

is quoted in only three texts on *Dharma:* the *Dāyabhāga*, the *Vivādatāṇḍava*, and the *Vivādārṇavasetu*. The note also points out that in the *Dāyabhāga* the author of the quote is not identified, while in the *Vivādatāṇḍava* the verse follows quotations from Devala, without mention of an author. It thus appears that Sūta's authorship of the verse rests exclusively on the evidence of the *Vivādārṇavasetu*, or, more precisely, on the evidence of the sole edition of the *Vivādārṇavasetu*. This edition, published by the Śrīveṅkṭeśvara Press in Bombay in 1888 on the evidence of a single Lahore manuscript, indeed introduces the verse (p. 52) with the words *Sūtasya tathā ca prāmāṇikaṃ vacanam* " thus also the authoritative text of Sūta. "

While engaged in the preparation of a critical edition of the *Vivādārṇavasetu* on the evidence of 24 manuscripts, I discovered that the word *Sūtasya* in the 1888 edition is but a faulty reading, which is not supported by the manuscripts. Manuscripts of the *Vivādārṇavasetu* have *satvasya* (corrupted in some instances

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to *satvasya* or *svattasya*). Furthermore, the 1888 edition wrongly punctuates the text. The | which precedes *Sūtasya* mistakenly separates the word from the sentence that precedes. In fact, it belongs after the word *Svatvasya*. A study of the sources of the *Vivādārṇavasetu* reveals that here as in much of the chapter on *dāyabhāga*, the *Vivādārṇavasetu* silently yet directly quotes from Jīmūtavāhana's *Dāyabhāga*.[2] As in the *Dāyabhāga* (4. 1. 17), the passage begins with a quote from Vyāsa :

विवाहकाले यत्किञ्चिद्वरायोद्दिश्य दीयते ।
कन्यायास्तद्धनं सर्वमविभाज्यञ्च बन्धुभिः ॥

"Whatever is given to the bridegroom at the time of the wedding, with stipulation, that entire property belongs to the bride and is not to be shared with relatives."

This is followed by a discussion which repeats the *Dāyabhāga* almost word for word :

उद्दिश्येति कन्याया इदं भवत्वित्युद्दिश्य यद्वराय दानं न पुनस्तदभिसन्धिं विनापीत्यर्थः । अत एव विवाहकाल इति प्रदर्शनार्थं न पुनरेतदेव प्रयोजकं दात्रभिसन्धिनिमित्तत्वात् स्वत्वस्य । तथाच प्रामाणिकं वचनम्—

यद्दत्तं दुहितुः पत्ये स्त्रियमेव तदन्वियात् ।
मृते जीवति वा पत्यौ तदपत्यमृते स्त्रियाः ॥

विवाह इति न विशिनष्टि । अभिसन्धिस्तु दुहित्रन्वयाभिधानादेव लब्धत्वान्नोक्तः ।

"This refers to a gift to the bridegroom with stipulation (i.e., with the stipulation, 'this is to be for the bride'), and not to one made without that specific intention. Accordingly, the mention 'at the time of the wedding' is by way of illustration only and does not represent a specific instruction, since it is the intention of the giver that determines ownership (*svatvasya*). Thus also the following—otherwise unidentified—authoritative text does not specify 'at the wedding' :

'What is given to the husband of a daughter goes to the woman alone, and, when the woman is no longer, to her offspring, whether her husband be dead or alive.'

In this text the (giver's) intention is not expressed, because it is understood from the simple mention of the daughter's offspring."

The name of Sūta may be safely erased from the list of authors on *dharma*.

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2 The other major source of the *Vivādārṇavasetu's* chapter on *dāyabhāga*, the *Dāyakramasaṅgraha* of Śrīkṛṣṇatarkālaṅkāra, does not quote the verse under discussion.

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STOTRA LITERATURE OF ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA—A STUDY

by

JAYA CHEMBURKAR*

Rise of Stotra Literature :

1 A poetic composition inspired by devotional fervour and containing praise of a deity is normally called a *stotra*. The Ṛgvedic hymns were addressed to various deities, but in them, with the exception of a few ones viz. *Varuṇa-sūktas* or *Indra-sūktas*, devotional fervour is not to be found, because *bhakti* as it is understood in the *bhakti-mārga* was not known to the Ṛgvedic seers. The seeds of *bhakti* are to be seen in the *upāsanās* taught in the *Upaniṣads*, but the rise of the *bhakti*-doctrine is late.

2 The rise of the sects like Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śāktism and the propagation of the *bhakti*-doctrine gave inspiration to the composition of devotional poems, and this is how *stotra*-literature arose. The above mentioned sects were influenced by *Tantras* and their mode of worship. *Japa* or a repetition of a *mantra* of a deity is one of the Tāntric modes of worship. *Japa* can also be performed on single names of a deity. It may have given rise to the composition of *sahasra-nāmāvalī* or stringing together thousand names of a deity for the purpose of recitation. Repetition of a *mantra* or recitation of several names of a deity or recitation of a *stotra*, all aim at concentration of the mind on God and development of the feeling of devotion in the mind of a votary. Metrical composition, poetic style and rhythm in the *stotras* facilitate their regular recitation and memorizing.

3 The *stotras* mention different epithets and the attributes of a deity praised. They also mention the glory and greatness, mercifulness etc. of the deity. When the *stotras* are composed with a specific purpose of a particular cult, they contain the theological or philosophical ideas propagated by the sect.

Composition of stotras by Śaṅkarācārya :

4 As remarked by Keith, philosophers were not unwilling to take part in the composition of *stotras*.[1] Śaṅkarācārya also, who is well-known as *Vedānta-kesarī*, did not abstain from it. Śaṅkarācārya had undertaken the mission of reviving and strengthening Hinduism. For popularizing and spreading Hinduism among the people of all the strata, he might have thought it necessary to simplify the teachings of the *Vedas* and the *Upaniṣads*. Therefore Śaṅkarācārya could not remain contented with his high-flown scholarly commentaries on the *Upaniṣads*,

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1 Keith, A. B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 210.

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the Bhagvatgītā and the *Bādarāyaṇa-sūtras*. In his commentaries, his attempt was to explain highly philosophical works for those who can rise to that level. But, out of consideration for laymen whom he wanted to enlighten, he appears to have composed *stotras* in simple language and poetic style.

Stotras of Śaṅkarācārya :

5 A number of *stotras* have been ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya but all of them have not been accepted as his compositions. Dr. Belvalkar in his book viz. *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*[2] has listed the genuine and the spurious *stotras* of Śaṅkara. Only the genuine *stotras* have been dealt with in this paper.

6 Śaṅkara's *stotras* can be classified into two groups as *Vedānta-stotras* and *Bhakti-stotras*. In the *Vedānta-stotras*, Śaṅkara has presented simplified *Vedānta* Philosophy in a metrical form, whereas the *Bhakti-stotras* eulogise some personal gods like Govinda or Śiva etc.

7 The following *stotras* can be described as *Vedānta-stotras* viz.

(1) *Daśaślokī-stotra ;* (2) *Dvādaśapañjarikā-stotra* ; (3) *Ṣaṭpadī-stotra* or *Viṣṇu-ṣaṭpadī-stotra*; (4) *Harimīḍe-stotra* ; (5) *Manīṣāpañcaka-stotra* ; (6) *Bhaja-govinda-stotra* or *Carpaṭapañjarikā-stotra* ; (7) *Upadeśapañcaka* or *Sopāna-pañcaka.*

8 The following *stotras* are *Bhakti-stotras*:

(1) *Govindāṣṭaka*; (2) *Dakṣiṇāmūrtistotra*;
(3) *Śivabhujaṅgaprayātastotra*; (4) *Ānandalaharī.*

9 Let us now envisage the contents of these stotras.

Vedānta-stotras :

Daśaślokī—This *stotra* is also known as *Cidānandaślokī* or *Cidānandastavarāja*. Madhusūdanasarasvatī has written a commentry on it under the title *Siddhāntabindu*. In this *stotra* Śaṅkara has expounded in a popular style the philosophy of the Non-Dualistic *Vedānta*, of which he was the well-known advocate. He emphatically proclaims the non-dualistic relationship between the individual soul and the Universal Soul which is One without a Second, Attributeless Bliss (Śiva) in the words " *tadeko'vaśiṣṭh śivaḥ kevalo'ham* " which form the last line of nine verses out of ten. He denies the identity of the individual soul with any other entity in this world of diversity " *na bhūmirna toyam na tejo na vāyuḥ na kham nendriyam vā na teṣām samūhaḥ* etc. (V. 1).[3] It will be observed here that Śaṅkara has presented Personal God Śiva in the garb of metaphysical Absolute Undifferentiated Impersonal Reality and the individual is stated to be identical with Śiva.

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2 Belvalkar, S. K., *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*, pp. 221-228.

3 Also cf. Vs. 2 to 10.

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10 *Dvādaśapañjarikā stotra :* This *stotra* is usually known as the '*Moha-mudgara*'; it is so called because it contains twelve verses beginning with "*mūḍha jahīhi dhanāgamatṛṣṇām*". It is well-known that according to Śaṅkara knowledge can dawn upon that mind only which is free from passions, desire, attachment etc. Therefore, Śaṅkara always emphasized the spirit of detachment and renunciation. Accordingly, in the first six verses of this *stotra*, Śaṅkara's advice to his disciples is to develop the attitude of detachment, give up desire for wealth ; "*mūḍhà jahīhi dhanāgamatṛṣṇām kuru sadbuddhim manasi vitṛṣṇām / yallabhase nijakarmopāttam vittam tena vinodaya cittam*" (V. 1). According to him wealth is misery; a wealthy person has fear from even a son; "*arthamanartham bhāvaya nityam.....putrādapi dhanabhājām bhītiḥ* .. etc." (V. 2). Spirit of detachment can arise only on knowing the true nature of the world around us and hence Śaṅkara asks the disciple to think of all his relatives in the words, "*kā te kāntā, kaste putraḥ' Saṁsāro'yamatīva vicitraḥ / kasya tvam kaḥ kuta āyātastvam cintaya yadidam bhrātaḥ*" (V. 3). The answers to these questions will reveal to the disciple that this world is illusory. On knowing this nature of the world, he should renounce it and try to be united with Brahman; "*māyāmayamidamakhilam hitvā brahmapadam tvam praviśà viditvā*" (V. 4b). Being a staunch propounder of non-duality, in the 7th and the 8th verses, he advises his disciple to realise non-duality; '*śatrau mitre putre bandhau mā kuru yatnam vigrahasandhau bhava samacittaḥ sarvatra tvam vāñchasyacirādyadi viṣṇutvam* (V. 7) i.e. neither fight with your enemy nor be friendly with your friend, son and relatives. Treat all equally etc. He further remarks that All-Pervasive Viṣṇu exists in you, me and all. Therefore, see yourself in all and give up the sense of duality; "*tvayi mayi cānyatra viṣṇurvyartham kupyasi sarvasahiṣṇuḥ sarvasminnapi paśyātmānam sarvatrotsṛja bhedājñānam*" (V. 8). For the realisation of the Highest Reality, purification and concentration of mind are necessary; one can achieve these by the practice of *prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra,* discrimination between eternal and non-eternal, *japa, samādhi* etc. (V. 9). The *stotra* is didactic.

Ṣaṭpadīstotra or *Viṣṇuṣaṭpadīstotra :*

11 This *stotra* is honoured by more than half a dozen commentaries of which one is attributed to Śaṅkara himself and another from the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* School of Rāmānuja.

12 In this *stotra*, Śaṅkara prays to Viṣṇu to purge him of immodesty, to make his mind serene and calm down his thirst for pleasures, show compassion to beings and protect from the ocean of worldly existence "*avinayamapanaya viṣṇo damaya manaḥ śamaya viṣayamṛgatṛṣṇām bhūtadayām vistārya tāraya saṁsārasāgarataḥ* (V. 1). Verse number 3 is the well-known verse viz. *satyapi bhedāpagame nātha tavāham na māmakīnastvam sāmudro hi taraṅgaḥ kvacana samudro na tāraṅgaḥ* i.e. O Lord even on the removal of duality between You and me after liberation, I belong to You and not You to me. A ripple is of an

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ocean and the ocean is not of a ripple. According to Śaṅkara, in liberated state, the soul completely merges into the Lord and becomes one with Him. This is his conviction as a philosopher. But, in the present *stotra* when Śaṅkara prays to Viṣṇu, his heart beeomes modest and humble with devotional fervour; he becomes submissive before Viṣṇu and admits his smallness and inferiority before God and remarks in the above verse that an ocean is greater than a ripple, a ripple is only a part of the ocean, and hence a ripple is of the ocean and not vice-versa; similarly, howsoever identical the devotee may be with his God, God is always greater than the devotee. A devotee is of the God, he is a part of the God and not vice-versa. *Satyapi bhedāpagame nātha tavāham na māmakīnastvam* is thus an utterance of an humble and submissive heart that is overwhelmed with devotion. The word *nātha* in this context is significant enough to indicate Śaṅkara's surrender before the Lord of the universe. It may be said here that awareness of one's insignificance or smallness arises in a large heart that has understood the Divine Glory.

13 *Harimīḍestotra*—There are many commentaries on this *stotra* including one by Śaṅkara himself.

14 In this *stotra* Śaṅkara has praised Hari i.e Viṣṇu. Every verse ends with the words "*tam saṁsāradhvāntavināśam harimīḍe*" i.e, I praise Hari who destroys the darkness in the form of worldly existence. All the attributes of Impersonal *Brahman* (*Nirguṇa Brahman*) are applied to Hari. Viṣṇu is '*anādi*' i.e. without a beginning, He is "*jagadādi*" i.e. the cause of the world ; in Him the cycle of worldly existence revolves and on realising Him it perishes (V.1). He is "*sarvajña*' i.e. omniscient, He is Bliss "*ānanda*" ; Manifest and Unmanifest '*yaścāvyakto vyaktasamastaḥ* ; *Sat* and *Asat* etc. (V.3). He is Immeasurable, '*mātrātīta*' Self-Illumined '*svātmavikāśātmavibodha*', etc, (V. 8). By describing '*Saguṇa Īśvara*' in the manner in which the *Upaniṣad*s describe *Nirguṇa* form of *Īśvara*, Śaṅkara is emphasizing his philosophy of non-duality. This is corroborated by verse number 18 where he remarks that due to diversity of intellect the ignorant people describe One Truth differently as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra etc. "*brahmā viṣṇū rudrahutāśau ravicandrāvindro vāyuryajña itītham parikalpya / ekam santam yam bahudhā"hurmatibhedāt.....*" etc. (V.18). The entire *stotra* is an echo of Upaniṣadic Philosophy which is made to revolve round the Personal God Viṣṇu. The different means of realising viz. *śamadamādisādhanasampat* which he has mentioned elsewhere in his commentaries and other works have been mentioned here also for knowing Viṣṇu. They are '*vairāgya*', '*abhyāsa*', deep-concentration, '*bhakti*' etc. (Vs. 5, 24).

15 All this indicates that Śaṅkara only addresses the *Saguṇa* aspect of the Supreme Being whereas the other details of the *stotra* refer to the *Nirguṇa* aspect. His attempt, obviously, is to show the truth that the two aspects are inseparable.

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16 It will be observed here that normally a *stotra* refers to mythological accounts, glories of the deity, her compassion for the devotee, blessing and favours sought from her etc. But, in this *stotra*, (and many others also) Śaṅkara has woven all philosophical truths, abstract concepts about the Highest Reality with the exception of the words "*Harim īḍe*" which refer to a personal god. Being a philosopher of the highest rank, Śaṅkara does not bring in fanciful, exaggerated, mythological ideas which form a subject matter for a poetic mind. He seems to be interested in describing the truth and only truth. *Vedānta* Philosophy or its exposition by Śaṅkara in his commentaries is normally considered as a hard nut to crack. And hence with due respect to Śaṅkarācārya, it may be said here that this *stotra* (*Harimīḍe*), replete with philosophy, can appeal only to a student of *Vedānta* and not to a lay-*bhakta* who is not familiar with abstract philosophy. The tone of the entire *stotra* is intellectual, philosophical, rather than emotional and devotional. This only shows his high regard for *Vedānta* Philosophy. He was not a narrow-minded sectarian; therefore, he did not describe Hari or Viṣṇu in the manner of a sectarian as in the *Mbh.* and the *Purāṇas*. But, he described Hari as the Ultimate Reality. It may be pointed out here that in treating Hari in this manner, Śaṅkara has imitated the author of the *Bhagavadgītā* who has also described Śrī Kṛṣṇa as the Personal and Impersonal God-Head.

17 *Manīṣāpañcakastotra*—Is a small *stotra* of five verses. Herein Śaṅkara expresses his regard for a man of wisdom, whether he is a *cāṇḍāla* or a *brāhmaṇa*. He remarks—One who has realised, "I am *Brahman*, this world is *Brahman*", one whose mind is steadfast on the Highest is my *guru*, no matter whether he is a *cāṇḍāla* or a *brāhmaṇa;* "*brahmaivāhamidam jagacca sakalam cinmātravistāritam ..... ittham yasya dṛḍhā matiḥ sukhatare nitye pare nirmale cāṇḍālo'stu sa tu dvijo'stu gururityeṣā manīṣā mama* (V. 2).[4]

18 *Bhajagovinda stotra*—This *stotra* is, also called "*carpaṭapañjarikāstotra*"; it contains seventeen verses. Here Śaṅkarācārya enlightens a lay man caught in this illusive world. Śaṅkara's '*māyāvada*' is well-known. The sum and substance of his philosophy was "*Brahma satyam jaganmithyā jīvo brahmaiva nāparaḥ*"; *Brahma* alone is the Truth and the world is '*mithyā*' i.e. false. In this *stotra*, he has emphasised the futility of the world in various ways, in simple language by giving examples from every day life.

19 According to Śaṅkara all relatives, wealth and different pursuits in life, pleasures, desires etc. are futile; they only lead a man from one birth to another. An ignorant man becomes very feeble due to old age and yet he does not give

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4 Dr. Belvalkar remarks, "A story is preserved by tradition concerning Śaṅkara's encounter at about this time with an untouchable *cāṇḍāla* (in reality God Śiva) who challenged the consistency of the *Ācārya's* conduct in avoiding even the shadow of the pariah when philosophically, he held on to rigorous Monism, is responsible, for (or may even be the consequence of) a short poem called *Manīṣāpañcaka*—Dr. Belvalkar, *Basu Mallik Lectures*, p. 237.

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up hope. (Vs. 3, 7, 14, 8). Being a '*jñānavādī*' he criticises spiritual pursuits performed without knowledge. He remarks, "*kurute gaṅgāsāgaragamanam vrataparipālanamathavā dānam | jñānavihīne sarvamanena muktirna bhavati janmaśatena*" (V. 17). He advises, therefore, a lay man to look upon this body as a mere transformation of flesh and fat (V. 11); and to ask himself the questions like "who I am, who are you, from where have I come etc. and consider this world as false, futile (V. 12) and worship Govinda, because when death will approach, study of sciences will not protect, "*bhaja govindam bhaja govindam bhaja govindam mūḍhamate prāpte sannihite maraṇe nahi nahi rakṣati ḍukṛñkaraṇe* (V. 2).

20 Thus the *stotra* has a didactic tone.

Upadeśapañcaka or *Sopāna-pañcaka :*

21 As the title indicates, the *stotra* contains five didactic verses for the uplift of an aspirant. Śaṅkara's advice is (1) study the *Vedas* regularly, (2) worship God, (3) Give up desire, (4) Put up with all miseries, (5) Concentrate the mind on the Highest Being etc. etc.

Bhakti-stotras :

22 *Govindāṣṭaka-stotra*—This is a short *stotra* containing eight verses. It is commented upon by Ānandatīrtha. In this *stotra*, Śaṅkarācārya has strung together the attributes and epithets of Impersonal and Personal aspects of God, in the praise of Govinda. Each verse ends with the words, "*praṇamata govindam paramānandam*". Some of the epithets and attributes have reference to Purāṇic mythology e.g. '*Yaśodātāḍanaśaiśava-santrāsam*', '*traiviṣṭaparipuvīraghnam*', *gopīkhelanagovardhanadhṛtilīlālālitagopālam*' etc. All the epithets are formed by long compound-words. Yet, the familiar words and rhythm in the *stotra* would facilitate memorizing and daily recitation of the *stotra*. Through the blending of the attributes of the two aspects viz. Impersonal and personal, Śaṅkara is inculcating oneness of the two aspects.

23 *Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra*—On this, Sureśvara has written a commentary known as '*Mānasollāsa*'.

24 In this *stotra*, Śaṅkara glorifies God Śiva under the name Dakṣiṇāmūrti. As stated by Gopinath Rao in his *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Śiva is known by the name Dakṣiṇāmūrti, because he is a teacher of '*yoga*', music and other sciences.[5] Another account gives an explanation regarding the etymology of this name; it states that because Śiva was seated facing the south when he taught *yoga & jñāna* to the *ṛṣis*, he came to be known as Dakṣiṇāmūrti.[6] Śaṅkara here praises Śiva as being of the form of knowledge, '*bodharūpam*' and remover of ignorance, '*tamonudantam*' (V. 2).

5 Rao, Gopinath, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II; Part I, p. 273.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

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25 The *stotra* contains the iconographical details of Dakṣiṇāmūrti as under :

26 Dakṣiṇāmūrti is sitting under a banyan tree; He is facing the south (V. 1). He is immensely merciful, has gentle smile on His face and He is observing silence (V. 2). He is casting extremely compassionate glances at the sages who are miserable in this worldly existence (V. 4). His body is as though made up of digits of the moon, i.e. He has white complexion and is adorned with pearls and His left foot is placed on the right thigh. " *kalābhirindoriva kalpitāṅgam muktākalāpairiva baddhamūrtim ālokaye deśikamaprameyamanādyavidyātimiraprabhātam* (V. 6). A ' *yogapaṭṭa* ' i.e. a cloth thrown over the back and knees of an ascetic during meditation is tied round His legs and belly, ' *padodarālaṅkṛtayogapaṭṭam.*[7] He is young; the sages are staying with Him as His disciples to study philosophy. ' *tattvārthamante vasatāmṛṣīṇām yuvāpi yaḥ sannupadeṣṭumīṣṭe* (V. 8a). He is performing a *mudrā* with one hand and is holding an axe with another, with the third hand He is holding a deer and the fourth hand is placed on His thigh—" *ekena mudrām paraśum kareṇa kareṇa cānyena mṛgam dadhānaḥ svajānuvinyastakaraḥ purastādācāryacūḍāmaṇirāvirastu* " (V. 9). He has besmeared His body with the ashes of Kāmadeva and He is clad in a tiger's hide. (V. 10).

27 Being a *bhakti-stotra,* herein, we do not come across abstract philosophy. Śaṅkara has presented here Personal God vividly. His mercifulness, His vigilance over His devotees, removal of ignorance by Him have been well brought out to inspire devotion. Śaṅkara's prayer here is, " May this form always remain awake in my mind "—" *taddhāma dākṣiṇyajuṣā svamūrtyā jāgartu citte mama bodharūpam* " (V. 1).[8]

28 *Śivabhujaṅgaprayātastotra*—This *stotra* of fifteen verses is addressed to God Śiva; In the first verse Śaṅkara prays to Gaṇeśa. Every word of the verse ends with the conjuct syllable ' *ṇḍa* ', e.g. *galaddānagaṇḍam miladbhṛṅgakhaṇḍam calaccāruśuṇḍam jagattrāṇaśauṇḍam lasaddantakāṇḍam vipadbhaṅgacaṇḍam śivapremapiṇḍam bhaje vakratuṇḍam* (V. 1). The rhythm in the verse resembles the sound of a ' *mṛdaṅga* ', appropriate in the worship of Śiva. Then, in the remaining verses Śaṅkara praises Śiva. Sometimes, he identifies Śiva with ' *Parabrahma* ' e.g. ' *anādyantamādyam param tattvamartham cidākāramekam turīyam tvameyam haribrahmamṛgyam parabrahmarūpam manovāgatītam mahaḥ śaivamīḍe* (V. 2). Sometimes, he refers to Śiva's form known from mythology (Vs. 3, 9,

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7 It may be pointed out here that the image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti is found in the sculptures in the walls of temples in the South, where Dakṣiṇāmūrti is depicted as placing His right foot on the back of, " *Apasmāra Puruṣa* " i.e. ignorance, which symbolises subduing i.e. destroying ignorance. Śaṅkara here only describes Him as ' *tamonudantam* ' i.e. remover of ignorance.

8 Cf. also V. 9b.

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12, 15). Rigidity of Brahmanic ritual and absurdity in the path of knowledge always created barriers between the worshipper and his god; but the path of devotion removed these barriers. In the path of devotion, the emphasis was on inspiring confidence, love and such other congenial feelings in the mind of a worshipper. Herein a worshipper, with his heart overwhelmed with devotion establishes intimate relations with his object of worship. Śaṅkara's prayer to Śiva, at times shows his intimacy with god (V. 12), at times he surrenders himself to Śiva (V. 10, 11); at times he shows his total dependence, reliance on god (Vs. 9, 10, 11, 15). The *stotra* brings out Śaṅkara's devotional fervour (Vs. 3, 6, 7, 8 etc.).

29 It may be stated here that in this *stotra* devotional fervour is more promiñent than philosophy; the '*bhakta*' in Śaṅkara has overpowered the philosopher in Śaṅkara.

30 *Ānandalaharī*—*Ānandalaharī* is a *stotra* in honour of the goddess Tripurasundarī. It is a Tāntric Text containing hundred verses. The first fortyone verses are known as *Ānandalaharī* (Wave of Bliss) and the rest of the verses constitute *Saundaryalaharī*. There is a controversy regarding the authorship of this work. There are a number of commentaries on this work and most of these commentators ascribe the work to Śaṅkarācārya. The well-known commentators are Lakṣmīdhara, Kaivalyāśrama, Kāmeśvarasūri, Appaya Dīkshit etc. Dr. Belvalkar has regarded *Ānandalaharī* as Śaṅkarācārya's composition. But, recently a manuscript of a commentary viz. '*Sudhāvidyotinī*' on *Ānandalaharī* was found by Norman Brown. The commentator has stated therein that *Ānandalaharī* (which is also called *Saundaryalaharī*) was composed by his father Pravarasena who was a king of Dravid country. But, this claim of the author is not supported by supplementary evidence as remarked by Norman Brown,[9] and hence it is not acceptable. The fact that many commentators almost unanimously name Śaṅkara as author of *Saundaryalaharī* does not seem, on examination, to be convincing evidence.[10] Anachronism pointed out by Norman Brown and P. K. Gode does not permit us to ascribe this work to Śaṅkara.[11] The author cannot be indentified.[12] In *Śaṅkaramaṭhs* Śakti worship exists now and existed long before. All the heads of the *maṭhs* are known as Śaṅkarācāryas. One of these seems to have composed this work and ascribed to *Ādya* Śaṅkarācārya.[13] The

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9 Brown, Norman; *Saundaryalaharī*, Harward Oriental Series Vol. 43; Introduction, p. 25.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27; Cf. also *Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*; Vol. 19, pp. 313-332.

12 Brown, Norman; *Saundaryalaharī*, Harward Oriental Series, Vol. 43; Introduction, p. 29.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

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spirit of this *stotra* stands in sharp contrast with the spirit of other *stotras* of Śaṅkara. In '*Ānandalaharī*' we find Tāntric element, viz. the worship of *Devī* comprising of rousing of *Kuṇḍalinī* and *Yantra*-worship, and the *Saundaryalaharī* contains only a poetic description of the goddess. It shows a hand of a poet behind it rather than that of a devotee. Probably this poetic piece was latter on added to '*Ānandalaharī*'. The usual Vedānta philosophy with which Śaṅkara's *stotras* are replete is conspicuous here.

31 Tradition may have treated this stotras as a composition of Śaṅkarācārya, yet, it does not appear to be his composition and hence it is not discussed here.

Literary Estimate of the Stotras :

32 Śaṅkara is known as a philosopher and not a poet. But, though a philosopher, he is not "*Vedābhyāsajaḍa*", as is indicated by the *stotras*. All the *stotras* are a testimony to Śaṅkara's skill in poetic composition. Lucidity and clarity are the characteristics of his style. Ease in construction, command over language, apt illustrations are other merits of his composition. Though an erudite, his expression is not vague, complicated, his language is not overburdened with lengthy compounds. The *stotras* reveal his acquaintance with rhetorics. His '*upamās*', '*rūpakas*', '*utprekṣās*' and '*dṛṣṭāntas*' and such other figures of speech clarify his ideas and enhance the beauty therein. His fondness for rhythm and alliteration is seen in the *stotras*; rhythm and alliteration have rendered these *stotras* melodious and lyrical.

33 It may be said here that if Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Upaniṣads*, the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Bādarāyaṇa-sūtras* and his other works present philosophical wisdom of Śaṅkara to the world, his *stotras* reveal his poetic art.

Compatibility of the Stotras in Śaṅkara's Kevalādvaita :

34 The *stotras* obviously serve the purpose of *bhakti*. But, is the idea of *bhakti* compatible with Śaṅkara's *Kevalādvaita* philosophy ? For this purpose, we must see Śaṅkara's idea of devotion.

35 A glimpse of his ideas about devotion can be obtained from his observation on devotion, in his commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*. While commenting on the *Gītā* 13.10, he defines '*bhakti*' as "*bhajanam bhaktiḥ*" and in the *Gītā* 9.13 and 10.8 he explains the word '*bhajanti*' as '*sevante*' and at *Gītā* 13.10, he identified '*bhakti*' i.e. '*avyabhicāriṇī-bhakti* (unflinching devotion) with '*jñāna*- — "*sā ca jñānam*". At *Gītā* 9.1, he explains '*jñānam*' as '*vasudevaḥ sarvamiti*', "*ātmaivedam sarvam*". A synthesis of these comments would indicate that according to Śaṅkara devotion means service of the Lord with a sense of oneness. In such a devotion, a votary would become one with the object of his devotion and the world around him. Devotion of this type characterised by the highest knowledge is '*uttamā bhakti*' or '*parā-bhakti*'

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according to Śaṅkara—'*uttamām paramārthajñānalakṣaṇām bhaktim*—etc. *Gītā* 12.20. At *Gītā* 18.55 Śaṅkara identifies '*parā-bhakti*' with '*parā-jñānaniṣṭhā*' which is a state marked by the experience of oneness of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul, the state in which there is renunciation of all actions based on the sense of distinction. He states that by *Parābhakti*, an aspirant knows the Lord as He is and it is by this devotion that all consciousness of difference between *Īśvara* and the individual soul disappears altogether—"*sā iyam jñānaniṣṭhā ārtādibhaktitrayāpekṣayā parā caturthī bhaktiriti uktā tayā parayā bhaktyā bhagavantam tattvataḥ abhijānāti, yadanantarameva īśvarakṣetrajñabhedabuddhiḥ aśeṣataḥ nivartate ataḥ jñānaniṣṭhālakṣaṇayā bhaktyā mām abhijānatīti vacanam na virudhyate* (*Gītā* 18.55). Thus, it will be observed here that Devotion and *Kevalādvaita* Philosophy centering round the impersonal Reality are not opposed to each other.

36 Regarding *Saguṇopāsanā*, it can be said that Śaṅkara's attitude was the attitude of compromise; he was utterly opposed to all sectarian ideas. He has not insisted on the wroship of either Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa or Śiva, etc. In his opinion all the deities are equal; they are only different manifestations of One Truth.[14] In *Śāṅkara-bhāṣya* I.1.20 also he has stated that *Parameśvara* is One and assumes different forms qualified by different attributes and becomes the object of worship. He believed that *Saguṇopāsanā* was only a stage on the path ultimately reaching—Unqualified Reality, as observed above.[15] With the rise of knowledge, qualified deities automatically cease to have any purpose for a '*bhakta*'. The distinction of personal and impersonal disappears and the votary advances from the concrete to the abstract concept of God. The personal gods and their images, if understood in right spirit, are only the symbols for an average man and thus according to Śaṅkara, there could be no objection to them.

Conclusion :

37 Though Śaṅkara is out to expound the *Advaita* philosophy, he could not be obvious of the various religious cults such as the Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and the Śāktism, their religious practices and modes of worship etc. After all the philosopher lives and writes about his ideas in the midst of and for the sake of the world. It is out of this necessity that he has written the *stotras* and also expounded his theory about *Saguṇa* or *Saviśeṣa Brahman*. With his eyes fixed on the nature of the Ultimate Reality, he has succeeded in bringing the concept of devotion in line with the nature of Ultimate Reality.

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14 Vide, 14 above.

15 Cf. also Belvalkar; *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta Philosophy*, p. 235.

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AŚOKA'S DHAMMA IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

by

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY*

In R. E. IX Aśoka says with reference to religious ceremonies performed by women, that ceremonies should certainly be performed. But those bear little fruit. That, however, is productive of great fruit which is connected with *Dharma*. And he says—Herein are these : Proper treatment of slaves and employees, reverence to teachers. restrain of violence towards living creatures and liberality to *Brāhmaṇa* and *Śramaṇa* ascetics. These and such others are called *Dharmamaṅgalas*[1]. In Rock Edict III he repeats the same teachings. He says—Commendable is the service of father and mother, commendable is liberality to friends, acquaintances, relatives, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas* ; commendable is abstention from the slaughter of living creatures ; commendable also is not to spend or hoard too much. Here he says that everywhere within his dominions his officers called the *Yuktas*, the *Rājūkas* and the *Prādeśikas* must, every five years, go out on tour by turns to preach among the people these religious instructions....[2].

In Minor Rock Edict I (Brahmagiri) almost the same teachings are noticed. The emperor says—Father and mother must be properly served ; likewise, a respect for all life should be an established principle, truth must be spoken. These religious requisites or virtues must be promoted. Likewise the preceptor must be revered by his pupil and proper treatment should be shown towards relations. This is the traditional rule of conduct and this makes for long life.

In Rock Edict IV it is claimed that there was an increase in *Dharma* by the active efforts of Aśoka and so there had increased cessation of slaughter of animals, non-violence towards living beings, proper treatment of relatives, of *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas*, obedience to mother and father and to the seniors.

So this was the nature of Aśoka's *Dharma* and it is stated in R.E. X that Aśoka did not desire for fame or glory so much as he desired that people of his time and later should practise obedience to *Dharma* and confirm to the observance of *Dharma*.

In R.E. XIII we find that Aśoka was pained not only because of the slaughter, death and deportation of people in Kaliṅga war but because sufferings

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1 Rock Edict IX.

2 Mookerji, R. K., *Aśoka*, pp. 133-136.

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were caused to innocent people leading righteous life. So we are told that Aśoka was pained more because when an independent country is forcibly reduced, apart from death and destruction, there are sufferings caused to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas* and followers of other sects and the householders, among whom the following virtues are established — the obedience to elders and parents and preceptors, proper conduct towards friends, companions, supports and relatives, servants and dependents and steadfastness of devotion, on whom befalls the injury or slaughter or removal of their loved ones. (R.E. XIII).

So here we find that the virtues which Aśoka preached and which formed the sum and substance of his *Dharma* which he preached from the north-western part of India upto Yerragudi in Madras and from Gujarat to Kaliṅga, were the virtues practised by good honest people in the country. And Aśoka believed that in every country such good persons who practised those virtues, dwelled. This kind of observation on the part of Aśoka as noticed in R.E. XIII contradicts the generally accepted fact that Aśoka's *Dhamma* had Buddhist principles hidden behind it. With data drawn from *Singālaka Sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* and from *Mahāmaṅgala Sutta* of *Sutta Nipāta*, Dr. Bhandarkar, has proved this theory. But Aśoka not only observes that people practising these virtues dwell in every land, but, he also has said that these are traditional virtues,[3] as (M.R.E.I Brahmagiri) we have already noted.

Regarding the true religious character or colouring of Aśoka's *Dhamma* historians have worked hard. Now we have noticed that Aśoka says that the virtues he preached constitute the traditional rule of conduct as he says that honest good people in every country practise these rules. So we should search the reason as to why he again and again lays emphasis on those simple rules of conduct and preached it from the northwest upto Madras and Mysore. His '*Dhamma*' is simply a set of rules governing social and domestic behaviour of people. Why was he so anxious to see those rules to be practised by his people throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire ? Were those rules no more observed, causing disorder in life and society ? Perhaps some facts gleaned from Greek sources and *Manusmṛti* can help us. Strabo says about Indians that ' they tespect alike virtue and truth ; and therefore they give no precedence even to the age of old men unless those are also superior in wisdom.[4] In this observation we notice that Indians paid no respect to seniority in age and probably not to the superiority of caste too, unless a person was known for his wisdom and so was worthy of respect. Possibly this kind of attitude had

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3 एसा पोराणा पकिती.....

The Brahmagiri Rock Inscription,

Hultzsch, E., *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, page 176.

4 *Geography of Strabo, Classical Accounts of India*, p. 270.

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developed such critical bent of mind that people generally had become disrespectful to superiors and elders.

Further in Manu we find that casting off one's teacher, mother, father or son (XI. 60), selling one's wife or child (XI. 62) are minor offences (XI. 67). It means that such offences are not grave sins (*mahāpātakas*) but light offences (*Upapātakas*). It is interesting to note that these minor offences seem to look further light as these are classed with such works as superintending mines (or factories), executing great mechanical works, practising dancing and singing etc.[5] This kind of Dharmaśāstric rule possibly gave a moral support to those who neglected their parents, sons and wives and dependants, since, by doing so, they were not committing grave sins but very light and minor offences.

Further the *Jātaka* literature provides us with numerous instances of young men abandoning their wives and dependants and going away in search of higher knowledge or for spiritual upliftment. Lord Buddha himself abandoned his parents, wife and son for the sake of searching Truth and even after his enlightenment, though he visited Kapilvastu once again, he, without any hesitation, took away Rahul from his lonely wife and old father. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[6] we find rules to restrain a person from abandoning parents, wife and children. But the rules of Kauṭilya too, seem quite mild. We find that a fine of twelve *paṇas* only should be imposed upon one who, with means, does not maintain his children and wife, his father and mother, his minor brothers and his unmarried and widowed sisters.... If one renounces home (to become an ascetic) without providing for his sons and wife, the lowest fine for violence shall be imposed....

The mild nature of the above punishments, as prescribed by Kauṭilya, also suggests that lawmakers also did not attach much importance to the neglect of dependants on the part of individuals. This fact combined with the data drawn from Manu and Strabo, strongly suggests that people in general were neglecting their dependants and not showing due respect to teachers, *Brāhmaṇas* etc. This sort of condition might have prevailed all over India. And emperor Aśoka tried to remove these evils, which had not existed in earlier times. So he says—" this is the traditional rule of conduct " (M.R.E. I Brahmagiri). Further in Manu we find support of this observation of Aśoka that his teachings are traditional rules of conduct. Though according to Manu abandoning parents, dependants etc., is not a grave sin but a minor offence, as already noted, the rules for a *Snā-*

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5 गुरुमातृपितृत्यागः..... ॥ ५९

... । स्त्रीशूद्रविट्क्षत्रवधो नास्तिक्यं चोपपातकम् ॥ ६६ *Manu*, XI, 59-66.

6 अपत्यदारं मातापितरौ भ्रातृनप्राप्तव्यवहारान् भगिनीः कन्या विधवाश्चाबिभ्रतः शक्तिमतो द्वादशपणो दण्डः... ॥ २८ ॥ पुत्रदारमप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वः साहस्रदण्डः ... ॥ २९ ॥

Artha, BK II, CH I, 28, 29.

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taka, as laid down by Manu, contain almost all the teachings of Aśoka. (Manu IV, 162-185).

Though Dr. Bhandarkar has shown by data drawn from *Siṅgālaka Sutta* that Aśoka's teachings were essentially Buddhistic in nature, in Manu we find that a teacher, a priest, a guest, female relatives, paternal relatives, maternal relatives, connections by marriage, mother, maternal uncle, infants, the aged, the poor, the sick, the eldest brother, are objects of worship, respect and care, while a son and a wife are like one's own body. A slave is like one's own shadow and a daughter is the highest object of tenderness.[7] Manu says that even if offended by these persons, one should bear it without resentment.

Aśoka's repeated emphasis on showing due respect to *Brāhmaṇas* and *Śramaṇas* requires a special analysis. In Manu we find condemnation of *Brāhmaṇas* who were not performing their Brāhmaṇical duties.[8] Manu forbids people to make gifts to such *Brāhmaṇas*.[9] In the *Dharmasūtras* a king should punish such false *Brāhmaṇas*.[10] As a result, it seems, people, in general, lost respect for the *Brāhmaṇa* community. The conversation between Devayānī and Śarmiṣṭhā in the *Mahābhārata*, shows the low and contemptuous attitude of a high-born *Kṣatriya* maiden towards even a great *Brāhmaṇa* like Śukrācārya[11]. So, disrespect for the *Brāhmaṇa* community led to insults to be hurled even at worthy *Brāhmaṇas*, deserving respect. So Aśoka was anxious to see that the *Brāhmaṇas* should gain their original high status. Possibly just like the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Śramaṇas* too were treated with scant respect in society. The term *Śramaṇa* does not necessarily mean a Buddhist monk. The term existed even before the advent of Lord Buddha.[12] A prosperous materialistic civilization which flourished during the Maurya period might have unfavourably affected the status of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śramaṇas*. And, as we have already noticed, Dharmaśāstric rules also supported the critical and even contemptuous attitude of the people towards the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Śramaṇas*, many of whom were not actually leading the kind of life which they were expected to lead. Aśoka, possibly, did not like this kind of attitude which went against traditional Indian social rules, which demanded that respect was to be shown to *Brāhmaṇas* and saints, in general. That Aśoka was not introducing any new kind of *Dharma* but was acting on the

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7 आचार्यो ब्रह्मलोकेशः... ॥ १८२ ॥
छाया स्वो दासवर्गश्च दुहिता कृपणं परम् ॥ १८५ ॥ *Manu*, Ch. IV, 182-185.

8 आचाराद्विच्चुतो विप्रो न वेदफलमश्नुते ॥ १०९ ॥
स शूद्रवद्बहिष्कार्यः सर्वस्माद्विजकर्मणः ॥ १०३ ॥ *Ibid.*, I, 109; II, 103.

9 न वार्यपि प्रयच्छेत्तु बैडालव्रतिके द्विजे ॥ १९२ ॥ *Manu*, IV, 192.

10 *Vasiṣṭha Dharma Sūtra*, III, 4.

11 *Mbh.*, *Ādi.*, Ch. 78, 9-11.

12 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 420.

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lines of previous rulers, who also desired to make people righteous in their social behaviour, is clearly noted in Pillar Edict VII. Here Aśoka says that in ages past kings were anxious to see that the people should advance in *Dhamma*. But, the people did not advance much in *Dhamma*. And so Aśoka found out the means of making people advance in *Dhamma* by setting up pillars and getting his religious messages proclaimed to the people. He says—By me perceiving this have indeed been set up pillars of Piety (*Dhamma*), *Dharma Mahāmātras* created and Religious Edicts composed.[13]

So Aśoka says that he succeeded in the task in which previous rulers had not achieved any appreciable success.

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13 ... अतिकंतं च अंतलं हेवं इछि सु लाजाने कथं जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढेया ति के च जने अनुलुपाया धंमवढिया वढिया.....एताये मे अठाये धंमसावनानि सावापितानि.....मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंमवढि वढिता ...मुचे मुनिसानं धंमवढि वढिता... Pillar Edict VII.

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CĀRVĀKAS IN A NEW LIGHT ?

By

ARVIND SHARMA *

I

The Cārvākas are known as the hedonists of ancient India[1] and this reputation of the Cārvākas is based on such verses as the one cited below, quoted by Mādhavācārya in the *Sarva-Darśana-Saṅgraha :*

Yāvajjīvet sukham jīvet
ṛṇam kṛtvā ghṛtam pibet[2]

It is usually translated as follows :

While life remains let a man live happily,
let him feed on ghee even though he runs in debt.[3]

II

Recently, however, three independent remarks lead one to suggest a new look at the verse which gives a curious twist to its meaning, though it may be difficult to vouch for its correctness.

Firstly, Prof. M. Hiriyanna's suggestion catches the eye that " *Yāvajjīvet sukham jīvet* seems to be a parody of the Vedic injunction *Yāvajjīvam agnihotram juhoti.* "[4]

Secondly, Manjul Mayank has argued that the word *ṛṇa* in the verse may not mean debt but rather water, and the verse then means that " *Ghṛta* has to be used as a substitute for water, suggesting, not to spoil a precious thing like *Ghṛta* by burning it into fire."[5]

Thirdly, one finds the following assessment of the Cārvākas in relation to the material welfare of the people. According to K. Damodaran " Lokāyata

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1 Hiriyanna, M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1932), p. 194; *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy* (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978 (First published 1949)), p. 59; etc.

2 *Sarva-Darśana-Saṅgrahaḥ* (Poona: Ānandāśrama-Saṁskṛta-Granthāvaliḥ No. 51, 1906), p. 5.

3 Cowell E. B. and Gough A. E., trs., *The Sarva-Darśana-Saṅgraha by Mādhava Ācārya* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1914), p. 10.

4 Hiriyanna M., *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 194, fn. 2.

5 Manjul Mayank, " Re-assessment of the Meaning of Ṛṇaṃ Kṛtvā Ghṛtaṃ Pibet," *Journal of the Oriental Institute* 29 (3-4) (March-June 1980), pp. 257-260.

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was thus a progressive, optimistic philosophy. It, in fact, made room not only for the great constructive efforts of speculation, but also the material welfare and cultural progress of the people."[6] He then goes on to quote Dakshiranjan Sastri to the effect that " As the Lokāyatikas captured the hearts of the cultured as well as the common people, all concentrated on working out their immediate earthly welfare. The result of this movement was the propagation of different arts and sciences."[7]

III

If all these observations are put together then the traditional meaning ascribed to the verse stands transformed and the Cārvākas no longer appear as reckless hedonists but rather as progressive materialists. The present writer finds it difficult to subscribe to the view but cannot suppress his sense of marval at the results exegetical ingenuity can achieve.

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6 Damodaran K., *Indian Thought: A Critical Survey* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 107.

7 *Ibid.*

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SOME FRAGMENTS OF INDIAN LOGIC

By

H. M. JOSHI*

Introduction :

Indian Logic can well be said to be the corner-stone of the systems of Indian philosophy. Beginning with the Nyāya system of Gautam, the logic of Nāgārjuna, that of Śaṁkarāchārya, logic of Madhva, Navya-Nyāya system of Gaṁgeśa to the logic of Infinite in Sri Aurobindo's philosophy, the rational logical thought and methodological system assume several significant aspects. In present article I propose to deal with a few aspects such as those of mediate inference, the problem of universal, issue of negation, certain inductive methods involving the problem of causation and justification of induction and the issue of validity of knowledge.

To begin with it may be said that Nyāya logicians have adequately distinguished between proof as means of demonstration and proof as rational articulation of belief and conviction. It is generally believed that logical argumentation attempts to express the validity and proof of certain doctrines and properly conceived beliefs. This is a half-truth in the sense that it is not the function of logical argument to create a belief in certain person but it is its function to lay bare the rational content into clear form. Logical argument is the cogent form of a specific belief and conviction. Of course, it has got its psychological aspect of explanation and elucidation. It is seen in the *Parārthānumāna* (परार्थानुमान) of Nyāya. The distinction between *Swārthānumāna* and *Parārthānumāna* brings out the truth of double nature of inferential process. It is psychological as well as logical. The criticism that logical inference and argument persist in " psychologism " as levelled by Husserl and other phenomenologists in modern times cannot be levelled against Nyāya philosophers who lay down five steps of syllogistic inference with a specific view of explanation of an argument to another person. It is, however, true that later on in Vedānta system of philosophy the five-stepped syllogism was reduced to three-stepped one; however, the essential belief has been sustained.

Significance of Illustration in Nyāyā :

In the third premise of Nyaya syllogism it is required to be shown at least one material illustration of the general proposition laid down which is known as

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Vyāpti It is for instance, Ram or *Mahānasaḥ* (महानसः); fire in the kitchen, as an illustration in Universal premise, " All men are mortal " and " wherever there is smoke, there is fire ". This is usually said to be the unique contribution of Nyāya Logic with regard to the issue of relationship between Deductive and Inductive Logic. I propose to show in present article that eventhough a specific illustration is found to be absent in laying down of general major premise of formal Aristotalian syllogism and that of universal and Existential quantifier in Modern symbolic Logic it is not necessary and indispensable to provide an illustration of general and universal proposition. Of course it is true that an abstract generalization is shown its relevant concrete particular in the world. But it does not make it indispensable for a general proposition to get it substantiated with material illustration in the external world. This is not to underrate the uniqueness of Nyāya logic but it is said so in order to point out the uniqueness of abstract universal concept. When it is said that humanity implies mortality or " smokeness implies Fireness " (implication of the *Vyāpti* given in Nyāya syllogism) and its universal quantification as $(x)(Hx \rightarrow Mx)$ or $(x)(Sx \rightarrow Fx)$ it is shown that universal as such has nothing to do with existence as such.

Method of Induction :

The illustrative inductive step in syllogism leads Nyāya logicians towards the search of causal uniformity. The propounding of *Kevalānvayi*, *Kevalavyatireki* and *Anvayavyatireki* methods in the search of cause adequately shows that although the negative proposition is conspicuously absent in deductive syllogism it is dealt with here in inductive investigation. The joint method of agreement and difference shows that one can infer the contrapositive, that is the negative of subject as well as predicate in valid manner, $x \rightarrow y$ from this premise one can infer legitimately $\sim y \rightarrow \sim x$ which would be its full contraposition. An affirmative judgement passes through the course of negatives and subsequently arrives at an affirmative judgement with negative subject and predicate.

Nyāya syllogism is at times shown to be defective on account of having all its propositions as positive. As a rejoinder it may be pointed out that in the process of obversion in Aristotalian immediate inference and the rule of double negation in modern symbolic Logic one can legitimately observe the role of negation to support affirmation and hence the relativity of negative and positive judgement. Besides this, negative illustration and opposite argument have been insisted upon in Nyāya with regard to treatment of fallacies.

Principle of Negation :

In the fallacies of *Sādhāraṇa* and *Asādhāraṇa Savyabhicāra* and *Satpratipakṣa* the opposite and negative instances are looked into and thus far negative judgement is considered. In order to establish a specific generalization the negative instances were sought. In Buddhist logic the negative instance and

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negation of Reality have been elaborately dealt with. Nāgārjuna has propounded the doctrine of *Catuṣkoṭi*. The concept of *Catuṣkoṭi* as propounded in the Mādhyamika school of Buddhism refers to the nature of phenomena (संवृत्ति or व्यवहारसत्य) and noumenal (*Pariniṣpanna* or *Paramārtha Satya*) reality. The question is whether either of them could be described as either SAT or ASAT or both SAT and ASAT or neither SAT nor ASAT. The four standpoints are denied in regard to the absolute reality *Paramārtha* or *Śūnya*, because it is *Niṣprapañca* or transcending all characteristics. They are denied because they are, according to Buddhism, simply irrelevant in this connection. While the Buddhist attitude towards *Catuṣkoṭi* is that of denial, the Vedānta *Catuṣkoṭi* primarily consists in the affirmation of these four positions regarding Brahman or Absolute Reality.

Negation has not remained an empirical concept only but it is considered in relation to principle of existence also. In its treatment of metaphysics it is found especially in Vedānta that negation is not an ultimate category to determine Reality. It is partly logical and partly metaphysical. Negation is not verbal entity only but it is indication of non-existence also. However, the category of *Abhāva* (अभाव) has shown that a specific thing does not exist in relation to certain positive thing or entity alone.

Causal Uniformity :

Having dealt with the problem of Universal and that of negation we will now observe the question of causal uniformity in Indian philosophy. The concepts of *Pūrvavat* (पूर्ववत्) *Śeṣavat* (शेषवत्) and *Sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* (सामान्यतोदृष्ट) show adequately that Nyāya thinkers had acknowledged the rules of hypothetical affirmation (known as Ponendo Ponens) (pp) and negation (known as Tonendo Toneus) (TT) as well as the uniformity of Cause and effect. The process of inference depends upon the formal implication as well as material observation of instances. The concepts of *Pūrvavat* and *Śeṣavat* do not show the plurality of cause and effect if they are properly applied to events but they lay down the possibility of valid causal relationship.

Of course the causal view of Nyāya Darśan is defective as it does not take into consideration the fact of inherence of effect into that of cause. However, its view of perception is quite significant. The distinction between indeterminate and determinate perception is worth considering as it makes adequate room for error in perception. Prof. H. H. Price in his "Thinking and Experience" distinguishes between "Primary Recognition" of a thing and "Secondary Recognition" of a thing. If for instance, one recognises something one can see as white, that is primary recognition because one is not talking about what one can see as a sign of anything further. If one recognises something as snow or salt then that is secondary recognition because one is talking about what one can see as a sign of something further.

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Problem of causation or causality is the touch-stone of scientific method and induction. In Indian philosophy mostly all the systems have propounded their views on the nature of relationship between cause and effect. *Pratītya-samutpāda, Ārambhvāda, Satkāryavāda, Pariṇāmavāda* and *Asatkāryavāda* have been some of the prominent views regarding causality. It is with reference to causation that problem of relationship between two things, entities and phenomena is intimately connected. In Vaiśeṣika philosophy nature of *Saṁyoga* and *Samavāya* has been discussed. Saṅkara's criticism of the nature of *samavāya* category is a testimony to the application of logical criterion of self-consistency to the quality and relation. The charge of indefinite regress against the category of *Samavāya* is logical criticism of its validity.

Causal relationship involves essential, accidental property, entailment and inherent quality being attributed to the cause. Cause is not the supreme subject to which predicates in the form of self, world and human mental and physical activity are applied. Causal relationship is applied to events of physical, natural and mental order. They are supposed to be contingent, mutually reciprocal, inherent and external.

Jain philosophers hold causal relationship as constituting of novel and yet real and independent features of objects. Causal category in Jain philosophy is ultimate in the sense that nature itself is plural and that it is involved in several complex relations and autonomous phenomena.

Jain concept of Syādvāda points out the probable character of knowledge. Judgements of common parlance and rational understanding are not absolutely certain. They are valuable to the extent that they express controlled reality and independence of objects. There is a sense in which the judgement of communicative rational thought is unspeakable. Eventhough it may sound paradoxical, yet the judgement commits of existence as well as non-existence, expressibility and non-expressibility.

Cause and Effect as Implicit :

Sāṁkhya philosophers hold that cause is implicitly ingrained in effect and this is how effect is the explicit expression of that which is contained within the matrix of cause. This view has a bearing upon the nature of ego and intelligence as being involved in material particles such as subtle particles (TANMĀTRAS). Implicit containment of mental category and evolute brings about the inherent relation between matter and mind. It is usually supposed that logical categories are objective and that they are imposed upon the subjective apparatus of human self. This would make logical category an alien factor detached from organic human life.

Sāṁkhya philosophers have resolved this problem of alienation by making intelligence and ego as implicit in the development of nature. Theory of

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attributes (*Guṇas*) in Sāṁkhya makes intelligence an evolute of nature and therefore the impact of mind upon matter becomes natural. The problem as to how that which is material in the external world becomes mental and conscious in brain and mode of knowledge is solved by Sāṁkhya by the relation of inherence of objective category within material entity.

"ARTHĀPATTI" as Source of Knowledge :

In correspondence with a specific fact or "datum" found in the external world it is thought to be essential to presuppose and postulate a principle for without such a postulation the fact would not be cognised and explained. As it is said in Poorva Mīmāṅsā that Devadatta who is fat and does not eat during day-time, therefore he must be eating during night-time. Such an inference of idea and concept is warranted by experienced datum or phenomenon. Logic is said to be an examination of validity of principles and knowledge of external world. Knowledge consists not of principles alone but those of facts and values also. In this context, new concepts and categories of logic are explored and made possible. Just as I pointed out earlier with relation to *Pūrvavat*, *Śeṣavat* and *Sāmānyatoddiṣṭa anumāna* that they are meant for the explanation of the relation between facts. Of course, there is a ground for speculation and unknown possibility, however, one can relate the fact with the general principle and reality. This shows the way in which a concrete fact can be found to be related with an abstract principle of thought. Categories of Logic and principles of philosophy are not just speculations but they are warranted by certain significant data and experienced facts in the world. In the *pramāṇa* of *Arthāpatti* the principal factors of causation such as invariability, unconditionality, identity, consistency and class-membership are found to be legitimate.

Validity of knowledge :

As regards the nature of validity of judgement Poorva Mīmāṅsā puts forward the view of self-validity or intrinsic validity of judgement as against the externally dependent validity of knowledge. One may dispute the truth or the degree to which validity can be generated by the position held and the judgement itself. However, the method of showing this type of validity has an important advantage of propounding its own sufficient reason for the truth of the position. Unless the rival propounder or system shows the falsity of it the truth stands established. The rival may be led to absurd consequences too in which case also the position held so far is proved. In case of opposition the showing of absurdity of consequences the method proposed has a similar reference to the method of RAA (REDUCTIO AD ABSURDUM) in modern symbolic logic wherein by supposing the opposite (for instance —P) the contradictory proposition (P & ~ P) is arrived at and therefore the original judgement or position is proved to be true.

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To prove a specific piece of knowledge as valid would require a definite and abiding object and criterion in connection with which the piece of knowledge becomes valid or invalid. Now the question is whether the supposed object is really abiding and valid. Is it an external criterion or an internal criterion ? If it is external, it would lead us further and probably we would be constrained to go in a blind alley. If on the other hand the criterion of validity is internal it is supposed to have the capacity to express within itself. Self-validity means that whatever circumstances and conditions lead to the inception of knowledge they are lying within itself, within the subject, thing or phenomenon.

At any stage of the affirmation of knowledge it is the knower or the self that must assert that the knowledge is valid. Although the object which is supposed to be true and valid is apparently outside the self, yet it is the self within who puts a mark of truth and validity upon it. In the doctrine of *Parataḥprāmāṇya* held by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika the stamp of self upon the piece of knowledge is not accounted and therefore it leads to further regression. Whereas in the doctrine of Svataḥprāmāṇya it is the self which recognises and accepts the truth found in the objective piece of knowledge.

When Descartes, for instance, perceived the truth of ideas and objects "clearly and distinctly" then he asserted them to be true and objective. To cognize the truth of objects by self may seem to be subjective, however, it makes knowledge and validity essential and complete.

Of course this is not to undertake the value of *Parataḥprāmāṇya* which significantly insists upon external conditions and circumstances of objective things. Unless the objects are not adequately gathered and brought to light they cannot be cognised by intelligence which is indeed the self.

Connotative View of Vedānta :

As regards the nature of relationship between Brahman, Individual and world Vedānta thinkers in general and Śaṁkara in particular has adopted connotative view of the judgement. When qualities of substance are related and their identity is expressed in varying manner in content of truth and falsity of rest of the terms it is held to be connotative view of judgement. For instance with regard to the relationship between individual self and Brahman there are three views held in different schools of Vedānta, viz., (i) *Bheda* (भेद) (ii) *Abheda* (अभेद) and (iii) (भेदाभेद) *Bhedābheda*. The divergence of view centres round the meaning of self and Brahman. If Brahman is perfect and All-knowledge, consciousness and Blissful than individual cannot be so in the same sense. Judgements regarding Brahman are tautologous. Therefore the conditions of world and ego (Jīva) which are imperfect are held to be contingent and at times contradictory.

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Such a view regarding the nature of subject-predicate relationship has its obvious defects. However, the connotative view is a reflection of Reality being articulated in thought and experience. Logical rigour perceptible in Śaṁkara's theory of Māyā is the result of law of contradiction implied in the relationship between Brahman as subject and rest of the essences as predicate.

It is true to say that logic is instrumental for the metaphysical view held by the philosopher in Indian philosophy. Of course Navya-Nyāya has attempted to consider the problems of validity of inference and knowledge independently of the background of metaphysics. However, most of the systems in Indian philosophy have a specific metaphysical outlook and commitment which is attempted to be indicated in logical reasoning. To discuss the view of Navya-Nyāya would be a topic for another paper.

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'*h*' IN ANCIENT INDIAN PHONETIC TREATISES AND PHONETICS OF MURMUR

By

BHARATI MODI*

It is not very long since the linguists have realized that any phonological issue in IA languages requiring phonetic explanation cannot afford to neglect ancient Indian phonetic observations. Varma (1961, 17) has complimented ancient scholars for manifesting " a thrilling interest in the living phenomena " of the language. The language dealt with by them was not merely a religious or imperial language super-posed upon the people but rather a secondary language used by educated classes. It would be sheer callousness if one did not look into these treatises.

Here is an attempt to study the phonetics of ' murmur ' in Gujarati. Murmur has been considered as a distinctive feature of the language by all the modern linguists.[1] Contrary to these, I propose that murmur is a non-oral phonation feature and though a characteristic feature of some dialects, it is never used distinctively, i.e., it does not cause contrasts in segmental phonemes. The ancient Indian phonetic observations support this proposal.

Murmur has been defined as " another name for breathy voice, a type of phonation in which the vocal cords are only slightly apart so that they vibrate while allowing a high rate of airflow through the glottis " (Ladefoged: 1975). The airstream mechanism required for producing murmur is pulmonic but at the same time the position assumed by glottis is conspicuously different from that for voiceless/voiced sounds. Murmured sounds can be made by keeping glottis fairly open at the end or by ' narrower ' opening extending over the whole length of vocal cords. ' Murmur ' results out of timber of voiced [ḥ]**. Pike (1947 : 5, 13) defines voiced [ḥ] as " a voiced vocoid with added audible friction at the glottis ". Observing carefully the behaviour of voiced [ḥ] Pike (1943) arrives at a significant statement concerning the phonetic patterning of [ḥ]. " Both voiceless and voiced vowels have cavity friction .. ... If to each type one adds local glottal friction, the first gives whispered vowels and the second, vocalic timbers of [ḥ], creating the proportion, voiceless vowel (i.e., [*h*]): whispered vowel: : voiced vowel : voiced [ḥ] ". It has been shown that timbers of voiced

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1 Pandit (1957, 1966), Dave (1977), Vyas (1978).

** ḥ = Voiced ' h '.

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[ḥ] are frictionals but also are resonant orals. These vocalic timbers of voiced [ḥ] are named as ' murmur ' (Pandit, 1957).

The ancient Indian treatises provide several very crucial observations regarding the phonetics of ' h '. According to them there are two main articulatory processes : internal and external. ' *h* ' is the result of *bāhya prayatna*— external articulatory process. The external process can be divided into two types as shown below :

bāhya prayatna

vivāra	*saṃvāra*
śvāsa	*nāda*
aghoṣa	*ghoṣa*

The external processes in turn are classified (Allen : 1965) according to three different mechanisms :

(1) glottalic ; voice/voiceless
(2) pulmonic : aspiration/non-aspiration
(3) velic : nasality/non-nasality

The ancient scholars were clear about simultaneity of various mechanisms. Allen (1965 : 33) has said that " in their recognition of the voicing process, the Indian phoneticians make one of their greatest single contributions ". Mahulkar's (1981) interpretation of ancient phoneticians shows their use of two matrices : internal (with two submatrices) and external (with three submatrices) :

Internal	External
[[constriction] [articulation]]	[[velic] [glottalic] [pulmonic]] See figure 1

They point at the two positions of glottis : " when there is effort on the part of the speaker the air in the form of breathing (*prāṇa*), which is the emission from the lungs (*koṣṭhya*) becomes breath or voice according to aperture (*khe*) of the throat (glottis). (It) is open or closed or it becomes both breath and voice when glottis is neither closed nor open ". (*Ṛk prātiśākhya*).[2] *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* has similar remarks : " when glottis is closed, voice is produced when it is open breath.[3] This shows neat connection between voice and closed

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2 *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* (RP)
vāyuḥ prāṇaḥ koṣṭhyaṃ anupradānaṃ
kaṇṭhasya khe vivṛte saṃvṛte vā
āpadyate śvāsatāṃ nādatāṃ vā vaktrīhayām
ubhayaṃ vāntarobhau. (XIII. 1, 2.)

3 Taittirīya Prātiśākhya (TP)
saṃvṛte kaṇṭhe nādaḥ kriyate:
vivṛte śvāsaḥ : madhye hakāraḥ (II. 4-6)

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glottis and breath and open glottis. The production of '*h*' is in the inbetween condition of glottis. Breath is the feature of voiceless sounds, voice is the feature of voiced sounds but for '*h*' and voiced aspirates *breath* as well as *voice* are the features.[4]

Atharva Prātiśākhya (i : 12, 13) has considered '*h*' as a sonant; the commentator says that 'the consonants termed sonants are semivowels, *h*, the two later *yamas* and the three last of each class of mutes'. Whitney (1862) finds this remark and the remarks of TP (II: 4-6) anomalous. I feel that Whitney had failed to realize that '*h*' in its various potentialities can be manifested as a deoralized sonant too. However, Allen (1965) has rightly considered the aspiration of the voiced aspirates as voiced. He indicates the strong historical phonological reasons for believing the Sanskrit '*h*' to have been voiced '*h*' ([ḥ]). This can be proved from the examples such as :

$h < * g^h$ as in *hima*,

within Sanskrit we get : *ghnanti* *hanti*
tat + hi *taddhi* etc.,

The ancient treatises have tried to know from where one utters '*h*'. RP has been rather uncertain when it says "either '*h*' is considered guttural or it is considered as a chest sound".[5] However, it is significant that '*h*' was also noted as a pulmonic sound. *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā* is more observant and specific about the occurrence of '*h*' and gives a distributional explanation : "'*h*' when followed by nasals and semivowels is pulmonic otherwise it is glottal".[6] This remark is very crucial for my thesis here, as it shows that the voicedness of '*h*' and the following sounds can have 'inter-dependency'. The possibility of such dependency involves or implies a requirement of studying more than a segment at a time. With this the ancient phoneticians enter into the real field of speech. They understood that adjustability of articulatory organ and modification of sound is the part of the speech-game. TP says that '*h*' becomes homorganic with the beginning of the following vowel and becomes homorganic with the end of the preceding vowel.[7] RP has listed this possibility of homorganicity of '*h*'

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4 RP
śvāso ghoṣāṇām : itareṣāṃ tu nādaḥ :
soṣmoṣmaṇāṃ ghoṣiṇāṃ śvāsanādau (XIII. 4-6)

5 RP
kaṇṭhyo'kāraḥ: prathamapañcamau ca
dwā uṣmaṇām: kecidetā urasyau (I-38-40)

6 *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*: 16
hakāraṃ pañcamair yuktam antasthabhiśca
saṃyutaṃ aurasyaṃ taṃ vijānīyat kaṇṭhyam
āhur asaṃyutam.

7 TP
udaya—svarādi—sasthāno hakāra ekeṣām: pūrvānta
—sasthāno visarjanīyaḥ (II. 47-48.)

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as one of its faults by saying that, it is faulty to make '*h*' (*visarjanīya*) homo-organic with the preceding long vowel". But Uvaṭa in the commentary quotes another commentator who said that 'Even for Gods, it would be impossible to pronounce '*h*' in any other way'.[8]

Allen (1967) also notes that Indian phoneticians regarded '*h*' as a feature of a non-linear nature i.e., non-segmental. They had perceived the breathy effect that '*h*' could bring over on the segmental phonematic units which are linear; '*h*' has a power of overblowing the following vowel.

'*h*' thus was recognized as having a 'beyond-the-segment' spread. Any sound possessing such behaviour cannot be restricted/described by a simple category label. Allen appreciates the view of the ancient scholars and adds that except for the transcriptional purpose the representation of a complex structure by category label based on a mono-systemic analysis is an unacceptable procedure. This remark indicates the drawbacks of structuralist's phonology.

Bhartṛhari prescribed that within the sound unit the component features have *no* independent existence. Indian scholars had realized that in studying language as a whole it would be necessary to synthesize the 'divided material of sentences' by using the same technique. They have given a number of '*sandhi*' rules for Sanskrit. These efforts of Indian phoneticians to synthesize the units of language were named as 'prosodies' by Allen (1965). They extend *sandhi* rules for juxtaposed sounds by giving three natural phonetic processes :

voicing	:	*āsit*	+	rājā	=	*āsīdrājā*
aspiration	:	*labh*	+	*-ta*	=	*labdha*
nasalisation	:	*vāk*	+	*mama*	=	*vāṅmama*

Sanskrit shows some examples where in a sequence like '*h*' + nasal/semi-vowel, '*h*' is phonematically not significant. Here the process of breath and nasality overlap : e.g. *kinhnute* (Allen 1965 : 71). I consider this overlap as a result of non-linear quality of '*h*'. The outflow of voiced breathiness of 'h', spreading over the surrounding sound makes it inevitable for linguists to understand the requirement of synthesizing language material by studying sounds in context. '*h*' which has *karaṇābhāva* (having no mode of articulation) and which is *parāśraya* (dependent sound) (according to *Pāṇinīya-śikṣā*) can behave like a prosodic feature. This prosodicity means interaction with the sequence of sounds. 'h' has such interaction with the neighbouring sonorant sounds such as,

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8 RP

anya-sthāne dīrghātsvarāt paro visarjanīyo
devair api na śakya uccārayitum. (XIV-30).

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(1) h + v
(2) v + h } homorgancity

RP says that the aspiration of sonant aspirates shows a strong sonant breath.[9] Sụch breath: crosses over and reaches the following vowel. It is like a spread phenomenon which covers its surroundings,

The interaction of 'h' with voiced consonant can be as follows :

(3) c + h + v = c ḥ + v } voice and breath
v v

With voiceless consonants the interaction will appear in the form of 'emission of more breath'.

(4) c + h + v = c^h + v } breath
vL

The gist of all this can be given as follows :

(1) 'h' is produced when glottis is neither completely closed nor completely open

(2) 'h' can be glottal and/or pulmonic

(3) this alternative implies environmental dependency

(4) 'h' is characterized by 'pure breath' and 'strong voicedness'.

(5) 'h' has no specific point of articulation and has a tendency of becoming homorganic with the preceding and following vowels.

(6) 'h' is vulnerable to modifications and also is capable of influencing environmental sound by its voicedness and breath.

It would be worth while to see how this ancient 'h' behaved through the historical stages. One should be aware of two facts : one that the description of the sounds in *Prātiśākhya*s cannot be directly applicable to modern IA languages and second that any IA language of today cannot make much out of Sanskrit. The period extending from Sanskrit to Prākṛt and from Prākṛt to Apabhraṃśa brings us upto M I A stage. Although Prākṛt and Apabhraṃśa both show the features suggesting a linguistic stage, they do not represent any specific language. They provide some idea about the varieties of different then existing dialects. Bloch (1965 : 24) has surmised that "if Apabhraṃśa could

9 R.P. XIII: 17
ghoṣiṇāṃ ghoṣiṇaiva the commentator says:
ghoṣiṇāṃ soṣmaṇāṃ ghoṣiṇaivoṣmaṇā:
hakāreṇa ityarthaḥ: soṣmatāṃ āhuḥ
gha ḷha, ḍha, dha bha, iti.

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be written in the sixth century it was because the stage of language to which it belongs appeared in Gujarat to be sufficiently archaic to be put on a plane with Prākṛt ". During the later part of the period known as MIA widely extensive language was prevalent all over Gujarat and Rajasthan. " It was much later that Gujarati, Marwadi and other kindred vernaculars got split ". (Divetia 1915: 40).

The pecularities of '*h*' of MIA are summarized :

(1) Bloch (1965 : 53) notes that IA alone of all Indo-European languages possesses four series of occlusives : voiceless, voiced, voiceless aspirated, voiced aspirated. The aspiration is so substantial that when the aspirated consonants undergo changes, it is the occlusion and not the aspiration which is lost. This means that even when occlusion gets lost, the aspiration of that occlusive is transferred to some adjacent segment.

(2) The voiced consonants from the Indo-Iranian period have transferred their voicing and aspiration to the following occlusive. Aspiration of aspirated voiced consonants is to some extent independent of their occlusion. Aspiration of aspirated consonants is tenacious and it is occlusion and not the aspiration which is the weak element of the voiced aspirated consonants in Sanskrit.

(3) The Sanskrit phoneme '*h*' is a voiced aspiration similar in nature to the aspiration of the aspirated voice consonants.

e.g. *cid hi* *ciddhi*

The ' attack ' of ' h ' is still perceptible in this position.

(4) In Prākṛt MIA '*s*' opens in a group of consonants and new aspirated occlusives are formed. When the group contains a nasal, which persists, the aspirate becomes voiced :

Pālī	*nha*	(*snā*)
	uṇḥa	(*uṣṇa*) etc.

It is a peculiar development: ' h ' substitutes voiceless segment. But, when attached to the voiced nasals, it acquires the quality of voicedness, which along with aspiration is bound to extend phonetically over the adjacent sounds. IA languages show many such examples where ' nasal + h ' sequence appears and voiced aspiration from this sequence gets extended as a prosodic feature over the neighbouring sounds*.

e.g.	Marathi	[mḥ̱ə̱ṇ]	' proverb '
		[mḥ̱atara]	' old man '

* The underlined vowels are murmured.

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Hindi [nənḥa] 'small'

[nəḥlana] 'to bathe'

This is just to say that 'voiced aspiration' does have predictable environments and shows up in IA languages in such environments.

(5) "In certain circumstances an intervocalic '*h*' ..... becomes voiced" (Bloch : 1965 : 68), This observation is in a way similar to the preceding one. In Bengali intervocalic 'h' is voiced :

e.g. [moḥim] 'big'

[goḥon] 'deep'.

It can be seen from this that since the days of Sanskrit till now 'aspiration' has persistently remained in all the IA stages. Merging with stops it has produced the whole series of aspirated stops. When merged with voiced stops it shows that potentiality to spill a strong voiced breath which no longer remains a segmental feature. This behaviour of '*h*' is true even when it is in neighbourhood of nasals, liquids, and glides. Many examples of this nature can be given.

e.g. Marathi [ləḥan] / [lḥan] 'small'

[wḥaŋə] 'shoes'

Hindi [rəḥna] 'to stay'

[jəḥã]* 'here'

[wəḥã]* 'there'

* (here the following nasalization also is pertinent)

No doubt in these languages (where 'h' acquires 'voicedness' environmentally), 'h' does appear as a voiceless variant.

e.g. Marathi [gəhu] 'wheat'

[hat] 'hand'

Hindi [hath] 'hand'

Sanskrit had a voiceless '*h*' in the form of *visarjanīya*. "There is no longer any trace of it in MI" (Bloch : 1965; 68). The question will be 'from where does the voiceless variant of 'h' of modern IA come ?'. It would be worthwhile investigating a comparative data from these languages. Marathi, Hindi, Bengali, Kutchi, non-murmured dialects of Gujarati, all have voiceless 'h'. Gujarati

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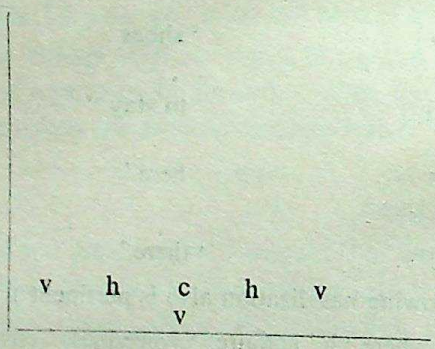
murmured dialects also provide a highly complicated situation. There are dialects with very strong murmur and the dialects with comparatively weak murmur. The weak murmur dialects sometimes show strong breath in 'h' when not in weak environment (Here by weak we imply non-medial position and when not in the neighbourhood of nasals, liquids, glides etc.,) This 'h' with stronger breath may become voiceless in some individual's speech. The non-murmured dialects definitely have voiceless 'h' with strong breath.

In fact what Sanskrit so clearly had as a 'voiced aspiration' has come down upto Gujarati in its full-fledged expression i.e,, as a murmur prosody. It appears that over the different developmental stages the voiced aspiration kept its strength and in some dialects of Gujarati perhaps it found appropriate medium for its manifestation.

All these observations are apt for the behaviour of 'h' (i.e., murmur) in Gujarati. Murmur in Gujarati is a feature, a phenomenon of a language in action. It is a feature of live speech. This character of 'h' allows me to make a fairly obvious departure from the usual mode of phonological description. 'h' if and when does not behave as a segment will force us to view it from two different directions : horizontal and vertical.

Vertically, for the model of description where 'h'—prosody comes as a non-linear tier above the segmental level



Horizontally in a continuum of speech, showing the capacity to spread on the surroundings. This prosodicity is the actual speech event.

There is an implicational suggestion in this proposal that only if we accept the horizontal prosodicity we can propose the vertical direction in the description. There is one more aspect to 'h'. Lass (1976) has very aptly described the bigestural characteristic of the sound segments because there are two relevant articulatory configurations : laryngeal and supralaryngeal. The first one is a categorial gesture and the second is a locational gesture. Lass has considered 'h' as showing 'shifted (locational) gesture'—i.e. both the categorial and distinctive subcomponents are realized only laryngeally. *Prātiśākhyas* have indicated that 'h' can be pulmonic and the external process in case of 'h' which has no

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specific point of articulation can become predominant. Lass holds similar view in considering 'h' as a defective unit in terms of system of opposition because 'it's matrice lacks defining specification for features that are purely intra-oral'. In fact Lass goes one step further and says that any 'phonological' segment is represented as a two part matrix, consisting of sub-matrices labelled oral and laryngeal. Lass insists on keeping these two parameters independent to show that each is a possible proper domain for a phonological rule in addition to the whole segment being such a domain. For Gujarati 'murmur' I want to show that it is the result of the laryngeal realization of categorial and distinctive gesture. [ḥ] which is voiced fricative gets de-oralized in few of the Gujarati dialects,

$$\begin{bmatrix} [\text{oral}] \\ [\text{laryngeal}] \end{bmatrix}$$

i.e. (a) gesture shift : [+ conti]
↓
[+ conti]

(b) de-oralization [oral] → ϕ

Putting it in Lass' formula we can give a general representation of [h]—weakening :

$$\begin{bmatrix} [\text{oral}] \\ [\text{laryngeal}] \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \phi \\ \text{laryngeal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \phi \\ \phi \end{bmatrix}$$

↑ Gujarati murmer is at this stage. ↑ possibility of 'h' getting deleted.

This way of looking at 'h' clearly indicates its potential 'laryngeality'. The question is how do we describe such deoralization of murmur. Any description having only segmental approach is insufficient for murmur. This provokes a little digression here. The phonological descriptions until 1960's depended only on the contrast-based phonology. They prepared only the inventory of phonemes and listing of conditions for their variants. Their motto presupposed segmental phonology as it was aimed at searching one symbol for one phoneme. Such symbol finding activity created a methodological mirage.

Phonologists have now realized that symbol is artifically discovered static cover, but the speech is a highly dynamic and complex continuum. With keen phonetic skill and auditory perception we are able to break this continuum. Indian phoneticians showed how these parts analyzed from the continuum undergo various changes until they are synthesized into actual speech acts. Allen (1965) has commended the ancient Indian scholars for carefully studying the dynamicity of speech. They had realized the prosodies of voicing, aspiration and nasalization which can extend over a stretch of speech (may be a syllable, a word or even a sentence). Gujarati murmur provides a very interesting situation of such prosodic spread on speech units, e.g.,

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[d^{h} ar] 'Suppose !'

[ad^{h} ar] 'Support'

[sad^{h} aran] 'Common'

If 'h' occurs in a sequence in which a voiced segment precedes or follows it or both, then it may take voicedness of these segments. Such 'h' may in turn transfer its voiced breath to its adjacent sounds. It spreads regressively as well as progressively. Out of the two components of [ḥ] (i.e,, breath and voice) it is voice that first becomes conspicuous due to the supporting voicedness of the preceding/following voiced sounds and as a result a continuum of 'voice' is created along with which the transferred breath gets merged. The result is a 'murmur'.

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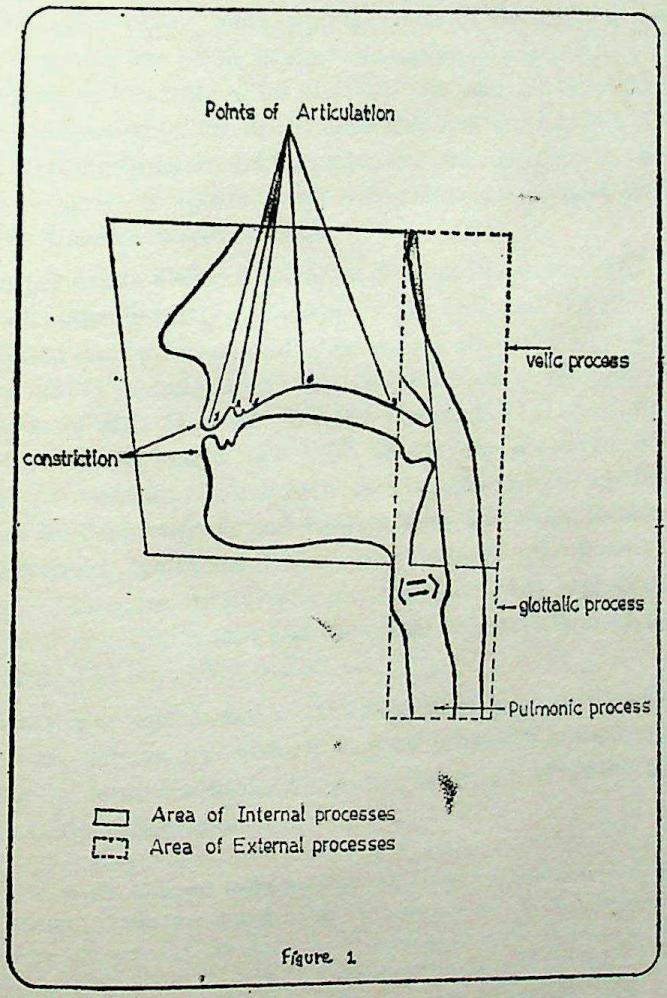

Figure 1

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NARASIṀHA MEHTĀ AND CONTEMPORARY JAINA POETRY*

By

BHOGILAL J. SANDESARA†

Narasiṁha Mehtā (V.S. 1470-1536 = A.D. 1414-1480) is wellknown as the *Ādikavi* ('first poet') of Gujarati literature. The appellation is appropriate if we put an emphasis on the word *kavi* ('poet') rather than on *Ādi* ('first'), as Dr. Umashankar Joshi has done (*Gujarātī Sāhityano Itihās*, Vol. II, pp. 75-76), because Narasiṁha is, chronologically, the first Gujarati versifier who can be most aptly called by the honorific title of *kavi* in real tenor of the term.

A new era in Gujarati literature began with the life and works of Narasiṁha Mehtā, the earlier period being from the times of the great savant Hemacandra (1089-1174) who has given profuse quotations in his *Apabhraṁśa* Grammar from the floating literature of his times to the end of the 14th century, when Kulamaṇḍanagaṇi gave his *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika* (1394), a Gujarati handbook for learning Sanskrit and also an important milestone in the history of the Gujarati language. Narasiṁha was born about two decades after the composition of the *Mugdhāvabodha Auktika*.

Earliest extant Gujarati literature is Jaina literature. The paucity of non-Jaina works may be partly accounted by the fact that the non-Jaina works did not enjoy the facilities of careful preservation which the Jaina works did through the Jaina *Jnāna Bhāṇḍāras* or Manuscript-libraries. Several remarkable non-Jaina works of early Gujarati, like the *Haṁsāuli* (1371) of Asāita Nāyak and *Sadayavatsa Kathā* (circa 1406) of Bhīma are preserved only in the Jaina libraries. A voluminous literature in Gujarati before Narasiṁha was mainly composed by Jaina writers and various forms like *Rāsu*, *Kathā* or tale, allegory, *Phāgu*, *Bāramāsī*, hymns and lyrics were cultivated apart from a bulk of writings in prose. The same forms were further attempted and developed by Jaina contemporaries of Narasiṁha and the extant literature is much larger in quantity, in comparison to the earlier period.

Narasiṁha was a native of Talājā near modern Bhavnagar, spent many years of his life at the historic city of Junāgaḍh at the foot Mt. Girnār and according to local tradition, spent the later part of his life at Māngrol on the southern coast of Sauraṣṭra.

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Talājā is a Jaina place of pilgrimage ; several Jaina works in Sanskrit and Gujarati were composed at Junāgaḍh ; Mt. Girnār is holy both to the Hindus and Jainas and Neminātha, the 22nd Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, is believed to have attained *Nirvāṇa* on one of its peaks. Nearby Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, famous for the shrine of Somanātha, is also a place of pilgrimage for the Jainas and Jaina pilgrim-caravans or *Saṅghas* going to Śatruñjaya and Girnār generally visited Prabhās Pāṭaṇ, Unā, Delavāḍā, Ajārā, Koḍīnār and sometimes also Dīva, a flourishing island-port just near the mainland. Several Jaina works are also written at Māngrol.

There is nothing on record to show that any of the Jaina *Ācāryas* or monks or scholars or poets visiting Junāgaḍh and Girnār had met Narasiṁha Mehtā or vice versa. But Narasiṁha was a phenomenon and it can be reasonably presumed that he was fairly well-known even during his life-time for his religious devotion, unconventional ways and superb lyrics.

It is proposed in this paper to have a bird's eye view of the contemporary Jaina poetry, form-wise. Jaina Gujarati works and authors of Narasiṁha's times are too numerous for individual mention. So whatever is stated here will be illustrative rather than exhaustive. There is an extensive Jaina literature in Sanskrit and occasionally in Prākrit, but this paper will take a brief review of the works only in Gujarati.

Narasiṁha's eminent senior contemporaries among the Jaina poets are Somasundarasūri (1374-1443), a prolific writer in Sanskrit and Gujarati and preceptor of a large group of learned disciples, and Māṇikyasundarasūri, famous as the author of the *Pṛthvīcandracaritra* (1433). His illustrious junior contemporary is Lāvaṇyasamaya (1465-1533) whose writings comprise almost all the literary forms current during the times. We shall deal here, howsoever briefly, with the Jaina poetic literature roughly from Somasundara to Lāvaṇyasamaya.

First of all, we shall take the most important narrative form *Rāsu*. The Sanskrit word *Rāsaka* from which the forms *Rāsu*, *Rāsa*, *Rāso* etc. are derived was originally a sort of 'ballet—dance' ; it was later on adapted as a literary piece to be acted mostly in Prākrit. Sanskrit rhetoricians have considered it as a variety of *Geya Rūpaka*. But later on the word *Rāsa* changed its meaning ; it came to be used for a long composition giving a sustained narrative in rhymed verse, partly in *Apabhraṁśa* metres like *Duhā* and *Cupāi* and partly in *Deśīs* or metrical compositions mostly based upon *Mātrā*-metres and intended for singing. *Rāsu* is the Jaina counter-part of the Brahmanical *Ākhyāna*, which later on became the most popular narrative form of Gujarati poetry. In Narsiṁha's poems like the *Sudāmācaritra*, *Dāṇalilā* and *Cāturio* we find, so to say, genesis of the *Ākhyāna*-form.

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In respect of the subject-matter, the *Rāsas* may be divided into mythological and historical.

Depāla or Depo who lived during the second half of the 15th century was a house-holder belonging to the Bhojak caste (a group of Brahmins who had accepted Jainism without renouncing their ancestral faith and who worked as musicians, copyists and teachers) had composed *Jāvaḍa Bhāvaḍa Rāsa*, *Rohiṇeya Rāsa*, *Candanabālā caritra*, *Abhayakumāra Śreṇika caritra* etc., taking themes from Jaina mythology. Ṛṣivardhana wrote *Naladavadanṭī Copāi* (1450) based on the story of Nala and Damayantī; Brahmajinadāsa, a Digambara Jaina poet, gave *Harivaṁśa Rāsa* (1484) narrating the legendary history of the Yādavas; Vaccha Bhaṇḍarī narrates in his *Mṛgaṅkalekhā Rāsa* (before 1488) the life of a pious and chaste lady, Mṛgaṅkalekhā. The *Virāṭa Parva* (before 1422) of Śālisūri, though written in syllabic metres which are comparatively rare in old Gujarati, should be listed under this form, as the author narrates an episode from the *Mahābhārata*.

Among the *Rāsas* having historical themes a mention may be made of the *Vastupāla Rāsa* by Hīrānanda (1428), Lakṣmīsāgara (after 1452) and Pārśvacandra (1541). All the three poems describe the life and good deeds of the minister Vastupāla (13th century) who was an able administrator, statesman and patron of art and letters. Devaprabhagaṇi wrote the *Kumārapāla Rāsa* (before 1484) describing the life of the pious king Kumārapāla who ruled over Gujarat in the 12th century. *Vimala Prabandha* or *Vimala Rāsa* (1512) of Lāvaṇya-Samaya is a long poem narrating the life and works of the minister Vimala who built on Mt. Ābu famous Jaina temple called *Vimalavasti* in 1032. This poem became so popular even among the learned that within ten years of its composition, in 1522, Vidyāratna rendered it into Sanskrit verse.

Throughout the history of Old Gujarati literature *Rāsu* (or its Brahmanical counterpart, *Ākhyāna*) and *kathā* or popular tale have developed side by side. Such tales in regional literatures of India are nourished by the older story literature in Sanskrit and Prākrit, and many a famous theme goes back to the lost *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya in the Paiśācī Prākrit which was a great store-house of Indian folk-tales. Jaina Śvetāmbara authors of Gujarat wrote a large bulk of such tales and all subsequent writers, including Śāmaḷa Bhaṭṭa, most prominent Brahmin writer of popular fiction, have utilized these early Jaina works as sources of themes and motifs.

Among such stories the *Pṛthvīcandracaritra* of Māṇikyasundarasūri deserves the first mention, though it is an artistic piece of Jaina *Dharmakathā* in prose. The story is very short. King Pṛthvīcandra of Pratiṣṭhāna marries the princess Ratnamañjarī, the daughter of king Somadeva of Ayodhyā. Sometime after marriage Pṛthvīcandra enters the Jaina ascetic order, on hearing the preaching of

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the Tīrthaṅkara Dharmanātha and his son Mahīdhara succeeds him on the throne. The author has created a beautiful *Gadyakāvya* from this small theme. Apart from the conventional descriptions of all sorts, the story is told in a type of prose which has all the poetic freedom, enjoyed by verse, but is free from the restraints of prescribed number of *Mātrās* and also of Caesura which are inevitable in regular verse. This type of prose is known as *Bolī* in old Gujarati and was widely used in *Varṇakas* or set descriptions and an anthology of such descriptions has been edited by the present writer under the title *Varṇaka-samuccaya* (Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā, no. 4, Baroda, 1956).

Among other folk-tales by Jaina writers during this period *Vidyāvilāsa Pavāḍo* (1429) by Hīrānanda is noteworthy. It narrates how an ignorant Vaṇik boy became a scholar, being favoured by the Goddess of learning, married a princess and became famous as Vidyāvilāsa. Jñānasundara has written *Vidyāvilāsa Copāi* (1460) on the same theme.

The story-cycles of Vikrama were popular throughout India. In Gujarat, during the period under our study Malayacandra wrote *Siṁhāsana Batrīsī* (1463) or 32 stories describing the exploits of Vikrama ; an anonymous poet wrote the story of Pañcadaṇḍa (1500) narrating how Vikrama acquired five magic wands and Sādhukīrti composed *Vikramacaritrakumāra Rāsa* (1447) recounting the daring and chivalry of Vikrama's son.

Allegory has been a form of literature popular both in East and West, and generally utilized for the propagation of religion. The characters being the symbols of different qualities in this form it becomes easier for the popular mind to catch up the main idea of the work, though there is every possibility of its being dull and mechanical from the literary point of view.

There are a few allegorical poems belonging to the pre-Narasiṁha period and this tradition has continued almost upto the beginning of modern literature. But most noteworthy allegory of Narasiṁha's times and one of the most estimable one in the entire mediaeval Gujarati literature is the *Tribhuvanadīpaka Prabandha* or *Prabhodhacintāmaṇi* (circa 1406) of Jayaśekharasūri, describing the defeat of *Moha* (ignorance) at the hand of king Paramahaṁsa (highest soul), who was ruling over the whole world. The poet is one of the best Jaina writers of Old Gujarati literature, the work is composed in a variety of *Mātrā*-metres, and as Professor K. H. Dhruva has said, " by this single composition the Jaina poet becomes a literary figure of the highest category. The genius of the poet has proved to be equally successful in construction of the plot, delineation of characters and development of the allegory. The novelty of the situations becomes helpful in producing various sentiments and the force of action and skill of construction sustains the interest of the reader upto the end. If the Jaina poems had been recited, like the non-Jaina works, in markets and public

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squares, Jayaśekharasūri also might have been famous like Bhālaṇa and Premānand" (*Prācīna Gūrjara Kāvya*—of the 15th century, Introduction, pp. 32-33).

Phāgu is a form of literature describing the erotic sports of spring. (The word *Phāuu* is derived from Sanskrit *Phalgu* > Pkt. *Phaggu* meaning 'Spring'). It depicts the joys of spring and both the types of *Śṛṅgāra*, viz. the *Vipralambha* (love in separation) and *Sambhoga* (love in union).

The *Phāgus* composed by the Jaina authors have generally as their hero a well-known figure from Jaina history or mythology like Neminātha, Sthūlibhadra or Jambusvāmī. Though full of erotic descriptions in the most ornate manner these poems always end in the renunciation of the world by the hero, because their ultimate aim is to propagate the Jaina religion. The non-jaina *Phāgus* discovered so far are comparatively few in number. The *Vasantavilāsā* (before 1442) whose anonymous author appears to be a contemporary of Narasiṁha is one of them and undoubtedly it is a veritable gem of old Gujarati literature.

Neminātha Navarasa Phāgu of Somasundarasūri, *Suraṅgābhidha Nemi Phāgu* (1446) of Dhanadevagaṇi and *Sthūlibhadra Phāgu* of Depāla are some of the notable *Phāgus* composed during the period under our study. *Vasanta Phāgu* of Guṇacandrasūri is an outright erotic *Phāgu* from the pen of a Jaina author. On the contrary, *Narīnirāsa Phāgu* (latter half of the 15th century) of Ratnamandiragaṇi is composed exactly on the metrical pattern of the *Vasantavilāsa*, but intends to censure and discard the blandishments of young women.

For some varied specimens—both Jaina and non-Jaina—of this interesting form the curious reader may refer to the *Prācīna Phāgusangraha*, an anthology of *Phāgu*-poems from the 13th to 17th century, edited by the present author (*Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā*, no. 3, Baroda, 1955).

The word *Bāramāsī* literally means 'twelve months', and is employed in literature to indicate poems describing twelve months. *Bāramāsī* is, generally, an erotic poem delineating love in separation and portraying the mental and physical condition of a lover in terms of changing season month by moth. The tradition of *Bāramāsīs* is quite old in Gujarati literature, and earliest extant specimen of the form is the *Neminātha Catuṣpadikā* of Vinayacandra (circa 1275). A notable poem on this theme by a contemporary of Narasimha is the *Nema-Rājul Bāramāsa* of Lāvaṇyasamaya. Here Neminātha and Rājīmatī or Rājul are, so to say, hero and heroine. Neminātha has renounced the world, but Rājīmatī, his fiancee, pines for him, and the poet gets an opportunity of describing her feelings for Neminātha every month as the year progresses.

Hymns and Lyrics have a continued history in Indian literature right onwards from the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. Several beautiful lyrics—both in heroic and tragic strain—are found in *Apabhraṁśa* works and early Gujarati narrative

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poetry under the title *Dhaüla* or *Dhaüla Gīta* or *Dhavala* (modern Gujarati Dhoḷ). In jaina poetry contemporary of Narasiṁha we find hymns and lyrics on suitable occasions in numerous narrative works. But hundreds of devotional lyrics are separately composed under various titles like *Gīta*, *Sajjhāya* (Skt. *Svādhyāya*), *Pūjā* (for singing at the time of worshipping the Tīrthaṅkara), *Stavana*, *Vīnati* (Skt. *Vijñapti*), *Bhāsa* (Skt. *Bhāṣā*), *Hariyāli* or *Hiyāli* (mystic songs in the form of riddles), *Kalaṣa*, *phuladāṅ* ('flowers'), *Chanda* (to be sung in the morning), etc. There is a large number of *Saṅgraha-pothīs* or manuscripts of miscellaneous works (or omnibus books, to employ a term of modern bibliography) which contain hundreds of songs, hymns and devotional lyrics, many of them by anonymous authors. In case of renowned poets like Jayaśekharasūri and Lāvaṇyasamaya we are fortunate in having manuscripts of their individual compositions in the form of chants, psalms and songs as mentioned above. But no single poet before Narasiṁha has composed such large number of devotional lyrics. It is a marvellous creation both in quality and quantity. Narasiṁha's own statement that he had taken a vow to compose one lakh and twentyfive thousand *Kīrtanas* or devotional songs may be better interpreted in the sense that his ambition was to pen innumerable lyrics out of which about sixteen hundred have been discovered so far.

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HOLWELL, DOW AND HALHED: A NOTE ON THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO INDOLOGY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By

CHARU SHEEL SINGH*

It is the purpose of this paper to bring to attention the little known contributions of J. Z. Holwell, Alexander Dow, and N. B. Halhed in the context of growing Indological rediscovery by the West. I shall, first of all, give a brief sketch of the West's attempt to rediscover India during the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, then focus attention on the contributions of Holwell, Dow, and Halhed to the developing Indology and, finally, touch on the establishment of Indic studies as a discipline in the West.

I

The earliest communication between India and the West dates well before the Christian era. But the earlier connection was broken during the Middle Ages and the West's rediscovery of India starts with the fifteenth centnry onwards. The story of this rediscovery is a story of the struggle for trade with India. As Birdwood has written, " the history of modern Europe, and emphatically of England, is the history of the quest of the aromatic gum resins and balsams, and condiments and spices of India ".[1] As the Western quest for India progresses, the ancient Indian literature replaces the condiments. The quest becomes more and more cultural, intellectual and spiritual.

The fifteenth century pioneers who started the process of this rediscovery were, Nicolo de Conti, a Venetian;[2] Athanasius Niktin, a Russian;[3] and Hieronimo de Santo Stefano, a Genoese.[4] The Venetian prosperity in commerce led John the Second of Portugal to dispatch Pedro Covilham and Alfonso de Pavya to India. Covilham was the first Portuguese to reach India.[5] After him came almost a flood of Portuguese travellers,[6] the most important being Vasco de

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1 Sir George Birdwood quoted in E. F. Oaten, *European Travellers in India During 15th, 16th, and 17th Centuries* (Lucknow: Pustak Kendra, 1973), p. 5.

2 Nicolo de Conti's account may be read in the fourth book of his treatise *De Varietate Fortunae*, ed. Abbe Olivia (Paris, 1723).

3 His accounts were brought to Moscow by some merchants as he died before reaching his native place, Smolensk.

4 E.F. Oaten considers his account a bare chronicle which does not add to our information.

5 Govilham kept a Journal which has disappeared.

6 Sir George Birdwood describes them as " hungry wolves upon a well-stocked sheep-walk." Quoted in E. F. Oaten, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

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Gama. Three ships in which he sailed were named, the Sam Gabriel, the Sam Miguel and the Sam Rafael. His accounts may be read in *Roteiro* (Hakluyt Society Journal),[7] in the *Lendas* of Gasper Correa, in Castanheda and other Portuguese historians or in more poetic *Lusiad* of Gamoens.

Mendez Pinto, who came after Vasco de Gama, has been described as " notorious " and a " liar ".[8] His book, *The Voyage and Adventures of Fernao Mendez* appeared in A.D. 1614. Later it was abridged with an introduction by M. A. Vambery and published in 1891. Continuing these attempts came Ludovico de Varthoma,[9] Duarte Barbosa, Caesar de Federici, Fernao Nuniz and Domingos Paes.[10] Barbosa was in India during the years 1508-9; Federici, an Italian, lived in India from 1563 to 1581. Paes wrote his account of India in 1520, while Nuniz some fifteen years later.[11]

From trade and commerce, the travellers shifted their attention to spread their own religion. Rodolpho Aquaviva, Antonio de Monserrato and Francisco Enriques were the chief figures of the Mission which started functioning by the end of 1569, due to the commendable efforts of the Archbishop of Goa. The Jesuit, Nicholas Pimenta wrote his letters to Claudius Aquaviva in 1598. He dispatched two missions, one to Bengal, and the other to Pegu. St. Sebastian, a friar of the order of St. Augustine, came to India in 1612 to propagate Christianity in Bengal.

The first Dutch enterprize into the Indian waters was by Cornelius Houtman in 1595, made possible by John Huyghen Van Linschoten.[12] He met the fellow Dutch travellers Fitch, Newbery and Leeds who were already in India.

Except for the voyage of Jean Parmentier of Dieppe in 1529 to Sumatra, the French first sailed to India in 1601. Colbert deputed Francois Caron as Director General of the French Commerce in 1664. The names of the important French travellers are, Bernier, Tavernier, Thevenot and Chardin. Tavernier's

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7 One of the descriptions runs: " they threw holy water upon the Captain Major and gave him some of the earth, which he gave in charge of someone giving them to understand that he would put it on later." *Roteiro*, p. 54. Quoted in E. F. Oaten, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

8 Congreve says in his *Love for Love*, " Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee, thou liar of the first magnitude," Act II, Scene V.

9 From the original Italian his accounts have been translated into five other languages as also in Latin.

10 For additional information on the above travellers, see *Alfonso Dalboqueroue* (Hakluyt Society Publication) and *Lusiad* of Camoens.

11 Mr. Sewell, their English translator, says " the two documents were sent by someone at Goa to someone in Europe." The Portuguese edition of his book is by David Lopes, *Chronica dos Reis de Basnaga* (1897). Quoted in E. F. Oaten, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

12 His account appeared in *Voyages into ye East and Weste Indies* Dutch original (1596); English translation (1598).

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Six Voyages appeared in 1676. Bernier wrote his accounts in his *Histoire de la derniere Revolution des etats du Grand Mogul*, published in 1670.

The English soon followed in the footsteps of the Dutch. Thomas Stevens was the first English to sail from Lisbon to Goa in 1579. He became the Rector of the Jesuit College at Salsette. Ralph Fitch, James Newbery and William Leeds followed in 1583. Further attempts were made by George Raymond and James Lancaster in 1591, and by Captain Benjamin Wood in 1596. On the 2nd of April 1601, having received " the Charter of Incorporation of The East India Company by the name of Governor and Company of merchants of London trading into the East Indies, " James Lancaster, John Middleton, William Brand and John Heywood sailed to India. Successive attempts were made in 1606 and 1607, and by 1612, nine attempts had been made, the chief interest being commercial.

The seventeenth century saw a slight turn of emphasis and Hindu manuscripts began to accumulate in European libraries. In 1698 " Ramainum or History of Ram, in the Sancreet Language, " along with some translations into " Tulinga " and books in the " Malabar Language " were shown to the Royal Society on their way to Bodlein.[13] Vigorous efforts were made to collect manuscripts for the Bibliotheque Royale.[14] Part of the *Gītā* was translated into Portuguese in the sixteenth century,[15] but the earliest and most significant translation seems to have been by Abraham Roger, who translated a hundred proverbs of Bhartṛhari, appearing in Dutch in 1651 and in French in 1670.[16]

II

The establishment of the East India Company marks the beginning of constructive cultural exchanges between India and the West, especially between India and England. It is in the eighteenth century that the quest which started with a desire to trade with India is overpowered by a desire to understand Indian philosophy, literature and sensibility.

In the early eighteenth century, a Jesuit series of *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* contained much material on Hinduism.[17] *Voyage aux Indes Orientales* was published by Pierre Sonnerat in 1782. On Indian astronomy, Guillaume Le

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13 *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, XX (1698), pp. 421-24.

14 *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*, written by the French members of South Indian Missions, XXI (1734), pp. 455-56.

15 Lach, D. F., *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Chicago, 1965), I, p. 280.

16 As *La Porte Ouverte Pour Parvenir a la Connoissance du Paganisme Cache* (Amsterdom, 1670), pp. 293 ff.

17 Some English translations are by J. Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits into Various Parts of the World*. 2nd ed. (1762), 2 Vols.

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Gentil de La Galaisiere provided the fullest accounts.[18] Etienne Mignot and Joseph de Guignes changed the orthodox point of view of earlier writers in their *Memoires de l' Academie royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*[19] Some Danish Missions were also established along the Coromandal coast and letters were pubiished in various collections.[20]

It is here that I would like to highlight the contributions of Holwell, Dow and Halhed, who along with Sir William Jones and Charles Wilkins, deserve an equally merited consideration.

J.Z. Holwell (1711-1798) came to India as a surgeon in the East India Company. He did not know Sanskrit but had some grasp of Hindustani and Arabic. In 1765 he published a disjointed work and gave it a rambling title.[21] To this he added a second and third part in 1767 and 1771 respectively. In 1779 he reissued parts two and three with the altered title of *A Review of the Original Principles, religious* and *moral, of the Ancient Brahmins.* Finally, in 1786, he brought out a tract called *Dissertation on the Origin, Nature, and Pursuits of Intelligent Beings, and on Divine Pravidence, Religion and Religious Worship.* In his chapter on " The Religious Tenets of the Gentoos " which is taken from the *Interesting Historical Events relative to the Provinces of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan* (1767), Holwell quotes extensively from a book which he calls *Shastah* and whose original has not been identified. He calls it the most ancient of Hindu religious books, as ancient as any written body of Divinity that was ever produced to the world.

Alexander Dow (1735 ? 36-1779) proceeded to Bengal as an Ensign in the East India Company. He wrote two plays called *Zingis* and *Sethona*, both of which were staged at the Drury Lane Theatre. In 1768 he published *History of Hindostan* in two volumes. A third volume was added to it in 1772. The dissertation on the Hindus appeared in the first volume, more being added in the third.

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18 In two articles in *Memoires de l' Academie Royale des Sciences* for 1772, Part II.

19 Mignot published five memoires, " Sur les anciens Philosophes de l'Inde " in Tome, XXXI (1761-3); de Guignes wrote three: " Researches historiques sur la religion Indienna," XL (1773-6); " Reflexions sur un livre Indien intitule Bagavadam," XXXVIII (1770-2); and " Observations historiques et geographiques sur la recit de Pline concernant l'origine, l'antiquite des Indiens," XLV (1780-84).

20 Important among those which appeared in English are: *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, 2 parts (1710); *Several Letters Relating to the Protestant Danish Mission at Trabquebar in the East Indies* (1720); *An Account of the Religion, Manners, and Learning of the People of Malabar*, trans. J. T. Phillips (1717).

21 *Interesting Historical Events, relative to the Provinces of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan..... As also the Mythology and Cosmogony, Fasts and Festivals of the Gentoos, followers of the Shastah, and a Dissertation on the Metempsychosis, commonly though erroneously called the Pythagorean doctrine* (1765).

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Alexander Dow and Holwell were widely read and discussed in Britain and in the *Annual Register*, Burke called Holwell's account of Hinduism, a very curious and important acquisition to the general stock of literature in Europe. Holwell was translated into German in 1761[22] and into French in 1768[23]. Voltaire had read Holwell in English by December 1764.[24] He came in contact with Hinduism in 1760 when he was presented with a copy of " Exour Vedam. "[25] Voltaire had also read a rather earlier account by Luke Scrafton, called *Reflections to the Govnrnment of Indostan* (1763).

Halhed came to India as a writer in the East India Company in 1771. He published his *Gentoo Code* in 1776 and *Grammar of the Bengal Language* in 1778. He was a linguist and his *Gentoo Code* was a translation of *Manusmṛti* from a Persian version. He has given a brief account of Sanskrit grammar and prosody, and quoted extensively from Sanskrit literature in his Preface to the Code. William Jones owed a good deal to Halhed for his theory of the similarity among languages.

III

Continuing the process of this cultural and literary rediscovery of India came Sir William Jones (1746-94), the most reputed linguist and comparatist of the eighteenth century. He was one of the earliest scholars to point out the startling resemblance between Sanskrit and other Indo-European languages. He was also the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784). Jones was in India from 1783 to his death in 1794. As president of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Jones delivered eleven anniversary discourses. His lectures on Indian subjects were entitled : " On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India, " (1785) " On the Hindus, " (1786) " On Asiatic History, Civil and Natural, " (1793) " On the Philosophy of the Asiaticks " (1794).[26] Jones translated *Hitopadeśa* and *Śākuntala or the Fatal Ring* from the original Sanskrit and published them in 1799. In 1794 he had published his masterly rendering of the *Institutes of Hindu Law or the Ordinances of Manu* (8 vols., 2nd ed. 1797). He also translated various Hindustani hymns and parts of the *Vedas*.

Amassing further literature on Indian subjects came Sir Charles Wilkins (1749-1836) who proceeded to Bengal in 1770 in the service of the East India

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22 By E. Thiel in J.T. Koehler, *Samnlung neuer Reisebeschreibungen aus fremden Sprashen* (Gottingen and Gotha, 1767-69), I.

23 *Evenements historiques, interessants, relatifs aux provinces de Bengale* (Amsterdom, 1768).

24 *Dissertation sur les Moeurs, les Usuages, le Language, la Religion et la philosophie des Hindous* (Paris, 1769).

25 *Voltaire's Correspondence*, ed. T. Besterman (Geneva, 1953-65), LXVII, pp. 210, 217-18.

26 *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I-IV.

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Company as a writer. He took a leading part in the establishment of a printing press for oriental languages. Leaving India in 1786 he established at Haskhurst a fount of the Nāgarī type for printing Sanskrit. In 1800 he came to India as librarian of the Company, an office then established for the custody of oriental manuscripts taken at Srirangpatam and elsewhere. He was the first Sanskrit scholar to study Indian epigraphy, and of the five volumes of his "*Asiatic Researches*" four are on this subject. The translation that made him famous was that of the *Bhgavadgītā* in 1785. A French translation of the *Gītā* was made by J. P. Parraud. Wilkin's translation of *Hitopadeśa* appeared from Bath in 1787 ; the *Story of Śakuntalā from the Mahābhārata* (1793) first appeared in Oriental Repertory and separately in 1795. His *Grammar of Sanskrit language* (from ancient sources) was published in 1815. In 1798 he compiled a catalogue of Sir William Jones manuscripts.

IV

Henry Thomas Colebrooke published his paper in 1805 " On the Vedas or Sacred Writings of the Hindus " in the *Asiatic Researches*. European study of the *Vedas* was made possible when Colonel Antome Polier purchased a copy of the *Vedas* at Jaipur and deposited it to the British Museum in 1789 after Jones had seen it. The Judge, Sir Robert Chambers, also acquired a copy of the *Ṛgveda* and parts of other *Vedas*.

The earliest attempts by Europeans to master Sanskrit were by a few Jesuits. Father Hanxleden, who worked in Kerala from 1699 to 1732 compiled the first Sanskrit grammar in a European tongue which remained in manuscript form. It was Father Coeurdoux who first recognised the kinship of Sanskrit with the languages of Europe as early as 1767 and even suggested that the Brahmins of India were descended from one of the sons of Japhet whose brothers migrated to the West. The foundations of Indology were given a firm footing by the time of Sir William Jones.

The French author Anquetil Duperron was a Persian Scholar and translated in 1786 the four Upaniṣads from a seventeenth century Persian manuscript which contained fifty Upaniṣads. The French Goverment, attracted by this exploration, founded the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and Alexander Hamilton (1762-1824), a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, became the first man to teach Sanskrit in Europe. Fridriech Schlegal, the first German Sanskritist, learnt from him, and wrote a book on the poetry and wisdom of Indians, *Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (1808). The first University Chair of Sanskrit was founded at the College of France in 1814 and held by Leonard de Chezy. In Germany also, from 1818 onwards, major universities set up Sanskrit Chairs.

In England Sanskrit was first taught at the Training College of the East India Company at Hertford in 1805 and Chairs were set up at London, Cambridge,

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Edinburgh and at several other educational institutions. H. H. Wilson was the first to occupy the Sanskrit Chair at Oxford University.

Owing to the incessant efforts of Franz Bopp (1791-1867), comparative philology became an independent subject in the nineteenth century. The French Societe Asiatique was founded in Paris followed by the Royal Society in London. The greatest achievement of the Indological scholarship in the nineteenth century was the enormous Sanskrit-German dictionary known as *St. Petersburg Lexicon*, produced by the German scholars Otto Bohtlingk and Rudolf Roth. It was also published in part by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences from 1852 to 1875. The efforts of Max Muller and the Harverd Oriental Series are merely a continuation of the tradition whose account, upto the end of eighteenth century, this paper has attempted to take.

The claim of Indology to the West rests, primarily, upon its philosophical and religious foundations. Warren Hastings, the Governor General of the East India Company, who " recommended " translation of the *Gītā* to Charles Wilkins, wrote in his Preface : " The writers of the Indian philosophies will survive, when the British dominion in India shall long have ceased to exist, and when the sources which it yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance. " This briefly sums up the nature of West's interest in India. The knowledge that was transmitted to the Western world under the overall guidance of Sir Warren Hastings during the eighteenth century will remain a landmark in the history of the cultural relations between India and the West.

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ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

By

R. N. MEHTA*

अतीतार्थं त्रिपादं च पञ्चबलसमन्वितम् ।
पञ्चकर्म समाराध्यमितिहासमुपास्महे ॥

Archaeology is a subject of knowledge about the past activities of Human Beings on this terrafirma on the basis of Material remains. Its practice including explorations, excavations, laboratory studies and interpretation presents fundamental problems of epistemological character.

The academic pursuit of epistemology in general also faces similar problem. This problem is keenly discussed in India both by orthodox and heterodox philosophies. Usually knowledge is a tripartite complex with the knower, the object to be known, and the process of knowledge that is revealed or known by the knower as a mental concept or image. If the tripartite complex is further analysed it becomes clear that the process of epistemology is an interaction of a living human being with the world in which he lives. The reflection of this interaction in thoughts and its evaluation, constitutes the basis of all knowledge.

Thus the trio-the knower, the object and the process—takes the form of a bipartite activity of the knower on one side and the world on the other. Between these two poles the process of knowledge enters as a link to complete the tripartite complex of epistemology, on the plane of *Vyavahāra*. In this life process the interaction of the living with its environment is a pivot for the very existence of all living beings in general and human beings in particular. This process is handled by the sense perception of the individual when his mind reflects on it.

If the mind does not concentrate and think on the experiences brought by the sense organs to it, the process of knowledge does not take place. Therefore, the basic epistemological concept of knowledge is the analysis by living mind of the sense experience on one hand and storing this experience as memory on the other. This basic fact of human experience and the validity of the conclusions of mind are further varified according to Indian philosophy by the *Pramāṇas* i.e. the activity of intense measuring the knowledge for its truth.

The differences of opinion about these tools of measurement of truth are noted by Indian schools of philosophy. The overall view indicates that eight *pramāṇas* are accepted as *Pratyakṣa*, *Anumāna*, *Upamāna*, *Śabda*, *Saṁbhava*,

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 33, Nos. 3-4, pp. 299 to 307.

* 8, Shreyas Society, Race Course Circle, Baroda-390 007.

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Abhāva, *Arthāpatti* and *Aitihya*. However different philosophic systems accept some of them and reject the others. On the basis of the *Pramāṇas* the knowledge that generates is tested. So the validity of knowledge depends in the final analysis, on the *Pramāṇas* that are accepted. This feature leads to different philosophical systems and world-views.

In actual life-situation, *Pratyakṣa* and its associates *Anumāna* and *Upamāna* are used as the basis of knowledge, that is expressed as *Śabda*. But in the academic sphere often emphasis is placed on *Śabda*, *Saṁbhava*, *Abhāva*, *Arthāpatti* and *Aitihya* as primary sources of knowledge. These differences of acceptance of the *pramāṇas* have developed the systems of *Cārvākas*, *Bauddhas Naiyāyikas*, *Vaiśeṣikas*, *Pūrva* and *Uttaramīmāṁskas* and others.

Besides this analysis of the *pramāṇas* the view point of the observer and the specific question that is raised also has a strong bearing on the object that is to be known. This question of view point becomes an important landmark in the world view and knowledge. As the view point shifts, the chiaroscuro of the view also changes. Thus the different systems of understanding go on shifting according to the view point and the *Pramāṇas* or basis of knowledge. In this complex philosophical situation archaeology accepts the validity of the phenomenal world of time and space.

Those philosophies that accept the phenomenal world and examine it from the view point of *Pratyakṣa* and its associate *Pramāṇas* have stronger affiliations than those that rely on only the word and its associate *Pramāṇas*. The reason for this phenomenon lies in the very basis of the tools of cognizance that a human being possesses. This strength of human senses of touch, smell, observation, hearing etc. have led the human being to become not only a thinking being, but also developed the power of recasting the material world in a way that no other living being on earth is capable of doing.

These features of inquiry of knowledge indicate that the position accepted by the philosophies that believe in the *Pratyakṣa* leads them to another aspect of knowledge that is closely related to the passage of time. They therefore analyse time.

The indicators of time are defined by Kaṇāda as *Apara*, *Para*, *Yugapat Ayugapat*, *Cira* and *Kṣipra*. Śaṅkara notes it as that aspect of phenomena in which change in nature is observed. The common experience indicates that the senses operate and activate the mind towards knowledge, in the present. This phenomenon always takes some time and therefore the extremist position could be taken that there is no knowledge of the present. The Buddhists take this position and relies on constant change.

If the time factor required for knowledge be taken into consideration it becomes clear that acquisition of knowledge is a human function in temporal

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situation. This feature indicates that knowledge is a phenomenon of the present continuously converting itself into the past. Thus the so called knowledge of the present is but a collection of the experience in the immediate past of the most recent present. The experience of the most recent past is collected, analysed and preserved by the human mind. The preservation of the analysed experience is the function of the faculty of memory of human mind or even animal mind. It is essential for its function in life. Thus memory of the past experiences becomes the torch for guidance in different situations and acts as a store house of knowledge. Thus the temporal aspect indicates that knowledge as a function of time is always a past experience that has impressed a mind.

Memory of the individuals is one of the functions of mind or *cittavṛtti*. It is either retained by him or is lost. This depends on the intensity of concentration at the time of experience or repetitive experience. So it is a common knowledge that at the individual level only the most impressive experiences are retained by him with conscious effort or *Svādhyāya*. In absence of such an effort, the retention of experience is very weak or even non-existent.

This discussion leads one to a position that knowledge, of the knower is always his recollection of a past experience, that is retained by conscious effort. If the intensity of the experience be strong and efforts to retain it are also equally continuous, then it could be recalled and it needs to be retraced either in mind or could be narrated verbally or in writing, painting or other suitable method of communication.

When this view point of knowledge as an organised retention of past experience is taken into consideration at the level of society, one finds that a living generation is given certain experiences in a systematic way so that the new generation could retain them in the form of memories that are considered useful by the older generation. In this process an effort also is made partially to retain some memories and forget others. This feature is seen in non-teaching of certain subjects or parts thereof, the destruction of writings, scrapping old machines, structures etc., and replacing them by new ones of a different pattern though doing similar work and continue the life stream with those memories that are supposed to be useful. The older views are criticised so that they may be dropped and be forgotten. If these features of individual human life and life of a society are useful in maintaining the life stream, are considered to be valid, one fact emerges in the discussion that the *cittavṛtti* of *smṛti* is a very important component of an individual or a society. If the *smṛti* or memories of any present generation is examined, it represents a partial collection of past experiences that are usually considered relevant to the living generation.

However on social scale there are numerous situations that go on continually rising and for understanding them the memory of older and similar situations

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become necessary. This continuous requirement of memory of older experience is a necessary component of human action which seeks precedents. The basic requirement develops a tradition and efforts are made to maintain it in the society through education, methods of keeping records and by development of laws, legal institutions as well as different organisation in various walks of life.

But, it often happens that the traditions that are mental constructions on the basis of past experience do not tally with either the experience of a living generation or with a changed view point. In either case a conflict arises and the resultant situation gives further direction on the retention of memory. If the changed view point becomes successful, it begins the process of retention of memory that it considers useful and starts to interpret the past experience from its own angle. In this process of retention of memory, the noting of passage of time is begun from the coronation, birth, death, movement or action of a ruler, preacher or leader of the society. The idea of bipartite division of time as B.C./A.D. or before Hijri after Hijri, before Vikrama era of after it etc. developes in this process.

The retention of memory also takes variety of forms. The usual form is verbal communication. Through verbal communications different emotions as well as the thought processes of an individual are expressed. This verbal communication retains the memory of the society. But this extremely strong medium of communication of emotions and continuous thought process, has a weakness that generates from the *Saṁketa* of *Śabda* and *Artha*, i.e. the variation of the meanings that the words are capable of producing. This peculiar capacity of verbal communication has led in the past to many controversies of interpretations and the same process continues and will tend to continue in future also, if our experience has any validity.

The other difficulty of verbal communication arises from the peculiar habit of loss of memory and the capacity of the human mind to fill up the gaps by resorting to imagination. Thus verbal communication keeps on changing its mode and often the part of its contents also. This peculiar difficulty often raises an important epistemological question about the validity of the message.

To circumvent this difficulty recourse is taken to different methods of symbolising the spoken word, so that the knowledge could be communicated in a more orderly form to those who would like to receive it. These methods has developed different systems of writings over the whole world. Each method of writing has its own good points and weaknesses in the development of adequate symbols to represent a particular system of spoken language. There is again a problem of the changing patterns of the scripts, that makes the effort of recording the speech on more permanent medium a bone of contention about the message.

The media used in this system vary from paper, parchment, papyrus, *Bhūrja-patra*, *Tālapatra*, metals, stone, clay, etc. These media are retained and they

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evoke the memory of what happened in the past in the same way as is done by the spoken word. It provides a system which does not depend for its interpretation on its producers. It is an object that could be verified by all those who know the art of reading and thus provide an objective system of knowledge.

This system of assisting the memory of past action has an additional advantage of longer life, if the materials are preserved. Thus the system of writing though a part of an effort of preservation of what happened in the past, is a human device to place memory outside the human brain and store it on some material. This is a purposive action, that has its usefulness in day to day life as well as in storing a variety of memories of literary productions, technico-scientific experiences etc. for future reference.

However important this tool might be, it is a partial preservation of the records of the memory of totality of human experience on one side and it is always in danger of human fury or neglect with the change in attitudes. Both these aspects along with the problem of space of storage and maintenance lead the written and printed matter to a large extent to its ruin and destruction. The material on which the writings are executed are mostly organic and therefore with passage of time they are destroyed. The inorganic materials also behave in different ways so that in the long run a large part of it also gets destroyed.

An overall view of knowledge therefore indicates the survival of few fragments of the memory of what happened in the past. But the human yearning of collecting and understanding the totality of the experience gives an impetus to look for other signs to retrieve and revive the memory of past actions. As already noted above, the success of the written record for preservation of memory is essentially due to its existence on materials that could be stored. A little reflection would indicate that the success of this method in the last analysis depends upon the human capacity to discern from the written or engraved signs the message that is contained in it. Thus the human capacity to look for the signs of past actions and their interpretation is of primary importance to retrieve or revive the memory of what happened in the past.

In this effort problem is created by consideration of the fact that written documents, where they exist, have a capacity to completely fulfil this function, so only their study and an effort to extract the meaning of the written message is capable of answering all the questions about the past. This view is uphold by many persons in a given society. To a certain extent this is a valid opinion, but largely it is forgotten that the written documents have a view point and develop ambiguity with the passage of time. Moreover they represent an idea or a description from an angle which would not represent the correct human experience.

In the last analysis human experience has developed due to the interaction of living human beings with the biosphere, atmosphere and lithosphere. Human

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memory is the capacity of man to retain this experience and perpetuate it. But question could be asked whether the biosphere and lithosphere or the atmosphere also have a capacity to develop the signs of action of natural and human agencies ? If these signs exist, can they help us in understanding the past action ? In other words is nature capable of preserving signs of past actions from which their memories could be revived or to use a word from logic inferred ?

The answers indicate that there exists a form of human experience that could be directly retrieved from the signs in the much wider meterial world. The human experience suggests that the natural actions leave their marks that help one to infer past actions. Similarly the marks of human action on the materials exist and they also indicate the human action by inference. This line of inquiry also helps in retrieving the memory both of natural and human behaviour pattern that is studied by observation. The memory of these observations and thoughts develops a system of acquisition of knowledge. The advantage of this system consists in its capacity to inspire any human being to study it and infer the action, independent of the view point of past generation. The meterials being non-human records are more objective and therefore they could give a picture of past human experience without any interference of past view point. It could also be interpreted from different view points of the materials, techniques of manufacture, functions and parts of social, religious thinking, economic activities etc.

Thus the study of the signs of human activities in the wide world opens up new vistas before the student, who wants to acquire knowledge of past human actions. This study of the material signs that is known as Archaeology has a much broader base for observation of signs of human action in the natural world.

This attitude of the use of the signs of human and natural activities by *Pratyakṣa Pramāṇa* and the precise methodology required by it has changed many ideas about the past. In this change, the ideas about the past that were developed without verification have conflicted with those that were developed and are being developed by Archaeology. The history of archaeological research is full of such conflicts in our understanding of past. The epistemological conflict results from the use of different *pramāṇas* that are used by archaeology and history, while viewing the past. Archaeology uses the system of observation of nature, and like astronomy, geology and other natural sciences tries to interprete the human action on the earth, through the signs of this action. These signs are natural and therefore in the conflict of ideas, archaeology has succeeded like Physics or Astronomy.

This interpretation depends on the dichotomy of nature and man and their mutual interactions on one side and the interaction of men amongst themselves, as occupants of the territories on earth on the other. This interpretative aspect depends therefore on the opportunities or hindrances provided by nature. This aspect therefore leads to a number of inquiries that require some specific view

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point. The history of the conflicts of the view points in these inquiries also is highly interesting.

It is clear that the knowledge that the human action leads to the change in nature and leaves its own stamp was not a new discovery. The man made materials, monuments were known but their interpretation depends on the general ethos of the society. This ethos and view points were different in different periods. When the ideological cause was seen in the Supreme Reality like god, the interpretation of the relics of towns, forts, caves etc., is attributed to them as the work of god or other divine or semidivine, benevolent or malevolent denizens.

In our country the pursuit of the literature of *Purāṇas* and current folklore indicates that it is full of such interpretations of movements of *Ṛṣis*, Gods, *Asuras* and their interaction with human beings. These interpretations are given for a number of archaeological mounds and monuments. Their study is now being undertaken with the changed view point of archaeology. From this view point archaeological relics are the work of human beings and they have to be studied as the remnants of human action in close proximity of natural phenomenon without invoking any supernatural agency of any type. This change in view point develops a different interpretation for the well known one, coming from the past. How this change effects the interpretation ? This is the subject matter of Paurāṇic archaeology.

The attitude of searching evolution of not only natural species but also of human beings and their tools, technologies, etc. was *a priori* view point of 19th century evolutionists. They tried to look at the relics of human past as the fossil record of human action and build up minutiae of evolution of skulls, bones, tools, styles, habitats etc. In this effort the ideas of typology and its temporal correlates at different places developed. Moreover the emphasis only on material relics leads to the collection of data in different parts of the world and that developed the notion of the human activities in preliterate societies. This emphasis leads to the study only of preliterate society not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world and developed the notion of prehistoric period. Interestingly this so called period on the time scale has developed many facets. Some of these facets have considered even the living generation as a guide to prehistoric studies of high antiquity and this has led to some confused notions about the subject.

In these mental constructions on the basis of the material relics, the view points of the workers and the general social ethos have played an important role even when the idea of supernatural was given up. The stratigraphic correlates from a site were taken as universal standards like the geological record of fossils but with the expansion of geographic horizons the correlates were not functioning satisfactorily, so, the linear evolutionary view point shifted to the consideration of areas and zones in time and space. This view point again seems to lead to the first development or teleological considerations from which the

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theories of independent origin or diffusion from one centre or centres developed. The extreme case of diffusionism from Egypat was propagated in the twenties of the present century by Elliot Smith.

The present day practice specially in U.S.A. under the name of new Archaeology tries to concentrate on recreating the totality of past human experience at a given site and its extension on large territories. It emphasises more intensive search of a site.

These few instances of shifting view points operate within the accepted epistemological parameters i.e. the revival of the memory of past human experiences from the signs in the material world, and do not take recourse to either the verbal-oral or written-signs. This situation atleast in our country had led some workers to consider the materials of comparatively recent past as belonging to the prehistoric period of remote past. A reexamination of the material evidences with the help of stratigraphy and associated finds has helped to correct the picture. More work in this direction is essential.

It is common knowledge that the interaction of Man with the material world is a continuous process and therefore a natural corollary to it could be developed that this method could be used to expand supplement, and correct the picture preserved in writing.

In our country writing is known from high antiquity. The tradition noted by Al. biruni that Indians possessed the art of writing which was lost and therefore *Brahmā* taught the method once more. If this tradition be interpreted with the present knowledge of archaeology, one could easily explain the gap between the period of Harappan culture and the later writings. This period could be the basis of the tradition noted by Al-biruni. This interpretation would change when evidence to the contrary would be discovered.

However the literary traditions of the more recent past note many towns and objects of use. Similarly our present day verbal traditions both oral and written, reveal many gaps in our knowledge of human experience because one cannot correlate the written or oral traditions with the material relics to enrich our own memories of the experience, common man gets surprised when he looks at old monuments and comes across the materials during his present day activities of digging foundations, canals, or laying of roads pipe lines etc.

This rich heritage requires an explanation. This explanation and correlation of the writtings with the monuments is specialised field of an archaeologist who uses his epistemological tools to throw further light on human experience and retrieves it from oblivion. This activity of archaeologists is noted as Mediaeval archaeology when the materials of last thousand years are dealt with.

Thus in conclusion it could be seen that from epistemological view point, archaeology is an effort to retrieve the memory of human action in different parts

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of the earth and give a time scale with a view to either understand the past human action or to develop different pictures from specific view points by welding the available material into a seeming whole. Field observations, study of material relies, and drawing inferences from effect to cause are fundamental tools of this system.

This effort develops a view of its own which could be expressed in the words of *Bhartṛhari* as

सा रम्या नगरी महान्सनृपतिः सामन्तचक्रं च तत्
पार्श्वे तस्य च सा विदग्धपरिषत्ताश्चन्द्रबिम्बाननाः ।
उत्सिक्तः स च राजपुत्रनिवहस्ते बन्दिनस्ताः कथाः
सर्वं यस्य वशादगात्स्मृतिपदं कालाय तस्मै नमः ॥

—शतकत्रयी–प्रास्ताविकश्लोक २८

and suggests that as we try to retrieve the memory of past human actions on the basis of the signs on the material-remains our studies become more detailed, perfect and varied. It also suggests that we also develop material signs to be interpreted by future archaeologists.

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THE FORESTER RĀMA AND THE LOCATION OF RĀMAGIRI

By

K. D. BAJPAI*

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is a literary work of variegated texture. It incorporates interesting geographical, historical and cultural details interwoven with the main episode of Śrī Rāma. In the present form this epic is an extensive composition spreading, in point of time, through several centuries.

The story of Rāma *Rāmopākhyāna* seems to have gained popularity during the later Vedic period. The kernel of the story highlighted the victory of righteousness over the evil forces. Rāma, the hero of the epic, was regarded as the embodiment of the ideals of the Vedic or Āryan culture *par excellence*. He gained victory over Rāvaṇa, the evil force, who opposed the Vedic culture.

To sage Vālmīki is attributed the first rendering of the popular story of Rāma into the simple *anuṣṭup* verses. On the basis of the language and the literary form of the original kernel of the epic, it may be surmised that the first versification of the *Rāmāyaṇa* took place about c. 400 B.C. On the basis of the internal evidence the lower limit of the extant epic can be assigned to c. 300 A.D., if not a little later. Looking to the great popularity of the *Rāmāyaṇa* this long stretch of time cannot be regarded unreasonable. This also holds good in the case of the other great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. The main episodes of both the epics have been elaborated bearing profuse poetic embellishments. This was but natural in the case of the two epics.

The present author does not agree with the view that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a myth. Had it been a myth, pure and simple, the story of Rāma could not have survived through the ages. It could not then have penetrated deep into the life of the masses throughout the country. Nor could it have made any lasting impact on the cultures of several south-east Asian countries outside India. Rāma's story can be called historical in the same sense as are the stories of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, of Kṛṣṇa, of Mahāvīra or of Gautama, the Buddha. We do not question the historicity of Mahāvīra, Buddha, Udayana or Kauṭilya. The existence of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa cannot be denied on the ground that no inscriptions or coins of theirs or of their times are definitely known. All proto-history cannot be dubbed as mythology. Otherwise, the very name 'Proto-history' would become a misnomer. This is not only applicable to India but

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* H/15, Padmakar Nagar, Sagar (MP)—470 004.

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also holds good in the case of other civilized countries of the past. I uphold the view, based on reliable evidence, that the time of the *Bhārata* War was about 1400 B.C. and that Rāma flourished about 500 years before the *Bhārata* War.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, even in its extant enlarged form provides us with sufficient reliable evidence pertaining to the geography of the long stretch of land between Ayodhyā on the river Sarayū in U.P. and the southern part of *Daṇḍakāraṇya* stretching through the present Bastar district of M.P. The geographical details of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, when studied along with those occurring in the works of Kālidāsa, Varāhamihira, Bāṇabhaṭṭa, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara and others, coupled with the available archaeological evidence, lead us to the conclusion that Rāma after leaving *Chitrakūṭa* (in the Banda district of U.P.), took up the south-eastern direction to reach *Daṇḍakāraṇya*. In the present geographical context, Rāma on his onward journey from *Chitrakūṭa* passed through the districts of Satna, Shahdol, Surguja, Bilaspur, Raipur and Bastar. In the present Madhya Pradesh he must have crossed the major rivers Sone and Mahānadī to reach the Bastar region. Several present geographical names in the districts mentioned above furnish a clue to their association with the story of Rāma in one form or the other.

It is interesting to note that the portrayal in stone of Rāma's story is found, probably for the first time at Nachna in the Panna district of Madhya Pradesh. Several artistic panels of the Gupta period, depicting Rāma's episodes of the forest and his association with the *Vānaras*, led by Sugrīva, have been discovered at Nachna. It seems that a temple of Rāma was constructed at Nachna about c. 500 A.D. Rāma's earliest cult-image is likely to be traced out at Nachna or nearabout.

Another important centre, not far from Nachna is Deogarh (district Lalitpur, U.P.). Several stone-slabs representing the story of Rāma have been obtained at Deogarh. They are assignable to the 6th century A.D., a little after the Nachna panels. These relics indicate that Rāma's story had become quite popular in Central India during the Gupta period.

Besides Nachna and Deogarh, depiction on stone of several episodes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been discovered in central India at Tripurī (district Jabalpur), Ramgarh, Khajuraho, Kharod, Shabrīnārāyaṇ, Ratanpur, Pālī and Jānjgīr. The last mentioned five sites are located in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. At Sirpur in the Raipur district some scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been traced. From the Bhind district an interesting terracotta figure, showing Sītā seated under an Aśoka tree in a pensive mood, has been acquired. It may be noted that unlike the portrayal of the childhood of Kṛṣṇa in ancient and medieval plastic and pictorial Indian art, we find that the sculptors of the Madhya Pradesh region were interested in depicting Rāma's life starting after his banishment to the forest.

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A few other sites are known where the depiction of Rāma's popular story is discernible in plastic art. Mention may be made of Bhītargaon (district Kanpur), Śrāvasti (district Gonda, U.P.), Pravarapur (Vidarbha). Chausā and Aphsad (Bihar), Pahārpur (Bengal) and Kirāḍū (Rajasthan). In the South also, *Rāmāyaṇa*-scenes were popular at several sites. Mention may be made of Ellora, Paṭṭadakal and Kumbhakoṇam. In almost all the schools of Indian painting numerous pictorial representations of the story of Rāma are known.

Rāma's story travelled to other countries, such as Thailand, Cambodia, Jāvā, Sumātra and Bālī through south-eastern Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The profuse carvings of scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the countries, mentioned above, eloquently prove the popularity of Rāma's story outside India. A comparative study of the human-ethnic features and also of the decorative patterns found in the plastic art of the Chhattisgarh region of the early medieval period with the contemporary art of South-East Asia would leave no doubt as to the impact of the Chhattisgarh region on the art of those distant lands.

Rāma took the south-eastern direction in the region of Madhya Pradesh to reach the *Daṇḍaka* forest. After leaving *Chitrakūṭa* in the Banda district of U.P. he passed through the area of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, the name having been given to the region south of the present Satna-Rewa districts. The area of the present Surguja district was comprised in south Kosala. Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa stayed for some time at a place called Rāmgarh, 45 kms. south-west from Ambikapur. Rāmgarh has preserved to this day the relics of Rāma's association with it. This place can be identified with the Rāmagiri of the great poet Kālidasa.

Rāma's mother Kausalyā belonged to this region. To distinguish it from the Northern Kosala of the Ikshvākus (with Ayodhyā as its capital), the southern region was called 'Dakshiṇa Kosala'. The route of Rāma was later on followed by Samudragupta in the 4th century A.D. in his south Indian campaign. Had Rāma passed through the south-western parts of Madhya Pradesh, some tangible traces of his route could have been found there and at least some early art-relics could have been preserved in that region. In taking the south-western route it was necessary for Rāma to cross the river Narmadā. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or in the other early sources, we do not find that Rāma ever crossed the river Narmadā while proceeding to the south.

As regards the names '*Daṇḍaka*' and '*Laṅkā*', there is a strong basis to believe that these and several other geographical names originated from the local languages of the Śabaras who inhabited the *Vindhyāṭavī* and the region further south in the *Daṇḍakāraṇya*. The *āśramas* of sages like Vālmikī, Atri, Agastya and Śarabhaṅga, whose main objective was to propagate Āryan culture in the area of the *Niṣādas* and the *Śabaras*, were located in the forest areas, mostly falling in the present Madhya Pradesh.

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Rāma in his wanderings reached up to the southern parts of *Daṇḍakāraṇya* including *Citrakūṭa* region of the Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh. (In the Bastar District there is another *Citrakūṭa* on the bank of the river Indrāvatī). The adjoining region of the Koraput district of Orissa also claims association with Rāma. Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa is located by some scholars in the Koraput district.

The problem of the location of Rāmagiri of Kālidāsa has been discussed for a long time past. Several localities have been identified with it. Professor V. V. Mirashi, followed by other scholars, has put forth the claim of Ramtek near Nagpur for its identification with Rāmagiri. Some scholars locate it in the Koraput district of Orissa. There are still others who have tried to put Rāmagiri elsewhere.

It may be pointed out here that Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and a good number of reputed saints are associated not with one but several localities in the country. This was but natural. Names like Prayāga, Mathura, Chitrakūta and Rāmagiri were given to several localities in the country after the chief original place-names. This holds good in the cases of popular *janapadas*, rivers, lakes and mountains also. Such was the case with Rāmagiri as well.

The regional geography in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa is chiefly concerned with the vast area of the present Madhya Pradesh, Kālidāsa takes unusual delight in describing the beauty of nature and the lively life of the people inhabiting the long stretch of land in this State from Rāmagiri in the east to Daśapura in the west (*Meghadūta* I, 14-47). Daśapura was the ancient name of Mandsaur in the extreme north-west of Madhya Pradesh. As regards the location of Rāmagiri, it is more plausible to identify it with the hillock of Rāmagiri in the Surguja district of Madhya Pradesh than with any other site.

The internal evidence, particularly from the *Meghadūta*, supports this identification. The hillock of Ramgarh, with the panoramic beauty around, tallies with its enchanting description given by Kālidāsa in verses 1-4, 12 and 14 of the *Meghadūta*. In the very first verse of the poem the great poet eulogizes Sītā and Rāma. It may be pointed out here that it was Kālidāsa who widely popularized the story of Rāma. It was from his time (c. 500 A.D.) that the cult images of Rāma began to be made and worshipped.

From Rāmagiri, Kālidāsa takes his cloud messenger to north, then a little to west and again to north to reach Āmrakūṭa (Amarakantak in the Shahdol dist. of M.P.). The cloud passes over the fertile low land of the Māla region (north part of the Bilaspur Dist.) before reaching the heights of Āmrakūṭa. The hill of Āmrakūṭa and the river valley of Rewā (Narmadā) are described in no less than 6 verses (17 to 22). During its early course, the river is split up into several branches. This is described by the poet as 'spread on the uneven

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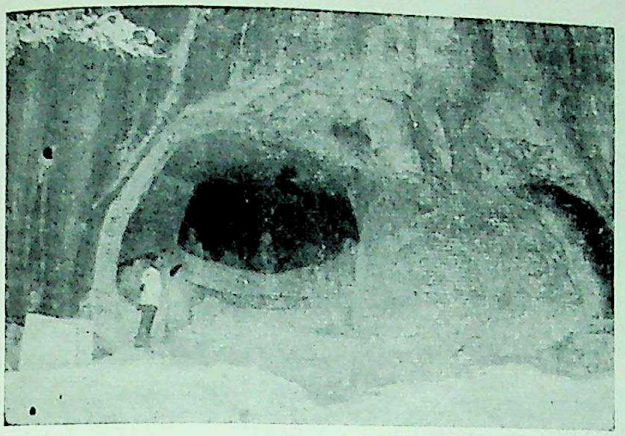

Fig. 1
Ancient Theatre at Sītā Bengrā Cave, Rāmgarh,
(Dist. Surguja, M.P.)

Fig. 2
Paintings on the Ceiling of Cave at Rāmgarḥ
(Gupta Period)

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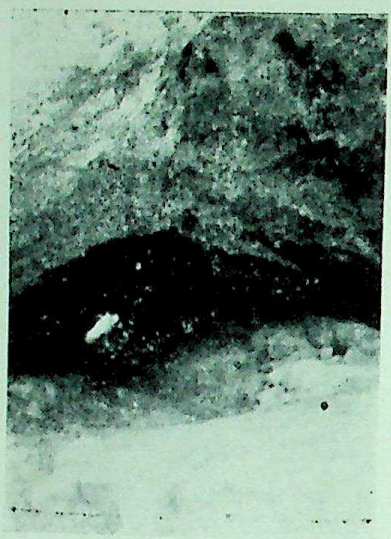

Fig. 3
'Hāthīphor' below the Sītā-Bengrā Cave at Rāmgarh showing the water channel

Fig. 4
Stone Sculpture showing Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa with bow and arrow, Sītā-Bengrā Cave, (8th Cent. A.D.)

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Vindhyan hill like the streaks on an elephant's body' (*Megha*, I, 19). The direction from Āmrakūṭa to the Daśārṇa *janapada* and its capital Vidiśā is given almost straight to the west, and hence no change of direction is suggested by the poet for reaching that area. From Vidiśā to Ujjain a diversion *vakraḥ panthā*, *Megha* (I, 27) is suggested. After Ujjain to Alakā the route is to the north, and hence no diversion is hinted at.

A detailed study of the rock-shelters, inscriptions and sculptural remains at Ramgarh was recently made by the author. Some of the rock-shelters (*śilā-veśma* of Kālidāsa) at Ramgarh were found to be natural and others were man-made.

Below the main hillock of Ramgarh there is a long natural tunnel measuring 450 feet in length. This is one of the unusally large natural tunnels discovered so far in the country. Near one end of this tunnel is a natural water flow terminating into a small reservoir called *Sītākuṇḍa*. According to J. D. Beglar there was a lake there, the waters of which eventually forced a passage through the spur by a long tunnel. (Cunningham, *ASI* Vol. *XIII*, p. 41).

The rock shelter known as '*Sītā Bengrā*' represents a theatre *Nāṭyaśālā* as described by Bharata in his well-known work '*Nāṭya śāstra*'. In the *Sītā Bengrā* shelter an extensive plain platform exists. It is flanked by two side rooms, which served as green rooms of the modern concept. The ceiling and the floor of the platform have round holes to support the wooden poles for making partition arrangement and for curtains.

The steps below the platform were made in decending order to serve as seats for the audience, who assembled to witness the dramatic performances.

The walls and ceilings of the *Nāṭyaśālā* had some *Brāhmī* inscriptions which are now mutilated. One important stone sculpture, assignable to the 8th century A.D., represents Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa standing, holding bow and arrow in their hands. There are several other stone sculptures kept inside the shelter. From the point of view of art, the delineation of the images of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa is of a high order. The outer right side wall of the rock-shelter bears two ancient foot prints, said to be those of Rāma.

The adjacent rock-shelter, known as Jogimārā, bears several *Brāhmī* inscriptions on the walls and ceiling. The most important inscription written in bold Mauryan *Brāhmī* refers to a *Devadāsī* (dancing girl) called Sutanukā. The name of her lover Devadatta is also mentioned in the inscription. Devadatta is called *Rūpadaksha* (proficient in dramatic arts). The name of Devadāsī Sutanukā and her lover Devadatta are mentioned in several other inscriptions of the area.

These two important rock-shelters were painted beautifully. Some of the painted scenes are still preserved. Several of these were made during Gupta period.

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At the top of the site there is another artificial shelter, called '*Lakṣamaṇa Bengrā*'. Its ceiling bears shining polish of *Vajralepa*.

The author also made a study of the remains of an ancient township below the Rāmgarh hills. The relics of brick-walls, pottery, molten iron-ore and a large number of ring wells were noticed at this extensive site. A silver punch-marked coin and more than three dozen cast copper coins were also discovered at the site. The coins are square and rectangular in shape and bear the symbols of tree-in-railing, moon on the hill, *Indra-dhvaja* and elephant.

The period of the coins can be bracketted between 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. Beads of agate, carnalian, quartz and saphire have also been discovered at this site. The area requires horizontal excavation in order to bring out the nature and periods of the habitation. The antiquities from the site are in the possession of several local persons. A little above the inscribed caves is the Ramgarh fort, where some stone sculptures of the Gupta and post-Gupta period were noticed. On the occasion of *Rāmanavamī* a big festival is held at the site in honour of Śri Rāma.

Close to the Rāmgarh site is the village Maheshpur on the bank of the river Ren (ancient Reṇukā). There several interesting sites of Śiva and Viṣṇu temples were found. The *Śaiva* temple-complex at this site is considerably large. The *Vaiṣṇavas* and Jains also established their centres there during the early medieval period. The site is full of architectural remains and sculptures made of red sand stone and the local laterite stone. Some of the important images were identified by me.

A rare image of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ādinātha of 8th cent. A.D. was noticed at Maheshpur. The figure has on the head a *jaṭā-mukuṭa* like the one noticed on Śiva images. The expression on the face of the deity is remarkable for its serenity. Other images represent Śiva, Viṣṇu, dancing Gaṇeśa, Hanumān, Narasiṁha, Sarasvatī, Gaṅgā and Yamunā. On one of the door-jambs is carved the image of a river-goddess with a female attendent holding a parasol. The body of the attendant in *tribhanga* is extremely graceful. On several door-jambs the figures of amorous couples indicating *kāma-loka* (region of enjoyment) were noticed. The extensive site of Maheshpur indicates that it was an important religious centre during the ancient period.

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RISTHAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF PRAKĀŚADHARMAN

by

V. V. MIRASHI*

This inscription was discovered while digging the foundation of a house at Risthal, a village, about 9 kms. north of Sītāmaū in the Mandasor District of Madhya Pradesh, on the 12th December 1983. It has since been removed to Sītāmaū where it has been deposited in the Natnagar Shodh Samsthan. Dr. Raghubir Sinh, Director of the Samsthan, kindly supplied good estampages of the epigraph to me for deciphering. Dr. V. S. Wakankar of the Vikrama University also obliged me by sending me a good estampage and also his own reading of it. I am obliged to both for their kindness. The record has since been edited with a plate by K. V. Ramesh and S. P. Tewari in the *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, Vol. X, pp. 96 ff. I edit the inscription here as desired by Dr. Raghuvir Sinh.

The inscription has been incised beautifully on a large stone slab. The inscribed portion measures 39.00 cms. broad and 32.53 cms. high. The record consists of 29 verses written in Sanskrit. They are not numbered, but the end of the first half of each is generally denoted by a dot, and its completion by two vertical lines. The final consonant is denoted by its small size with a short horizontal stroke at the top. The characters are of the western variety of the Gupta alphabet, resembling those of other inscriptions of the Gupta age at Mandasor. As regards orthography, *v* and *b* are clearly distinguished. The guttural nasal has been used for the *anusvāra* when followed by *ś* or *s*. See *vānt-āṅśu*, line 15, and *tamāṅsi*, line 8. The consonant preceding and following *r* is generally doubled. See *e.g. yattra*, line 3, and *ketur-llalāma*, line 2.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Aulikara king Prakāśadharman. The object of it was to record the religious and charitable works of the king at Daśapura and those of his minister Bhagvaddoṣa at Risthal. It contains the date 572 when the king caused a temple of Śiva to be constructed at Daśapura (modern Mandasor) and named the god in it Prakāśeśvara after himself. This date, like those in other inscriptions of the Aulikaras, must be referred to the Mālava Saṁvat, later known as the Vikrama era. It does not admit of verification in the absence of the necessary details, but roughly corresponds to A.D. 515.

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* Kamalasadan, Dharampeth, Nagpur-440010.

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The inscription opens with a verse invoking the blessings of Śiva in the Ardhanārīśvara form (half male and half female).[1] The next verse is in praise of Bhagavat-prakāśa, who always keeps his bow ready for the protection of the world. I thought at first that he was the progenitor of the Aulikara family eulogised in the present inscription. Further consideration has convinced me that he is identical with the then ruling king Prakāśadharman. Such verses are known to occur in other *praśastis* also.[2] Bhagavat-Prakāśa is, therefore, identical with Prakāśa-dharman, *bhagavat* being an honorific denoting reverence.

Then begins the genealogy of Prakāśadharman. The first member of the Aulikara family mentioned here is Drumavardhana. He, by his valour, destroyed the power of the enemy and maintained peace and order in the world. He bore the title of *Senāpati*[3] (Military Commander), which adorned him as the moon does God Śiva. His son Jayavardhana ruled after him. He distinguished himself by his policy which was combined with his power of arms. His son was Ajitavardhana, whose commands were implicitly honoured by his enemies. He performed several sacrifices. As Indra was attracted by his fondness for *Somarasa* offerred in them, his wife Śacī had often to suffer pangs of separation from her husband. His son was Vibhīṣaṇavardhana, who, by his good deeds, removed misery from the world as the sun dispels darkness by its rays. His successor was his son Rājyavardhana, who, as befitted his name, increased the extent of his dominion by his victories. The description of these kings from Drumavardhana to Rājyavardhana is quite stereotype, being devoid of all historic events.

The next king was Prakāśadharman, the son of Rājyavardhana, who, by his victories, deprived Hūṇa Chiefs up to Toramāṇa of their Imperial title. Here is a valuable historical reference which will be discussed later. Prakāśadharman is said to have dedicated to God Śiva beautiful ladies from the harems of his enemies whom he vanquished. It served to proclaim his victories. This was indeed a novel way of proclaiming one's victories !

Prakāśadharman performed several religious and charitable works. He constructed a large tank resembling the sacred Bindusaras at Risthal dedicating its religious merit to his grandfather Vibhīṣaṇavardhana after whom it was

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1 In the Ardhanārīśvara form it is not only the right half of the face of Śiva that is combined with the left half of the face of Pārvatī as Ramesh and Tewari (R. and T.) seem to think. The union is of the whole half bodies of the two.

Vighaṭṭyamānam-Pārvatī tries to separate her body, but Śiva completes the *sandhyā-vandana* rite calmly (*śānta-vidheyam*) notwithstanding the ire of Pārvatī.

2 See e.g. the Surat plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya, C.I.I., III, p. 134. It may be noted in this connection that the verb in the verse eulogising Bhagavatprakāśa is in the present tense whereas all verbs in verses praising the ancestors of Prakāśadharman are in the past tense.

3 Like Puṣyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, he must have been a General in his early career. The title continued even after he became a king.

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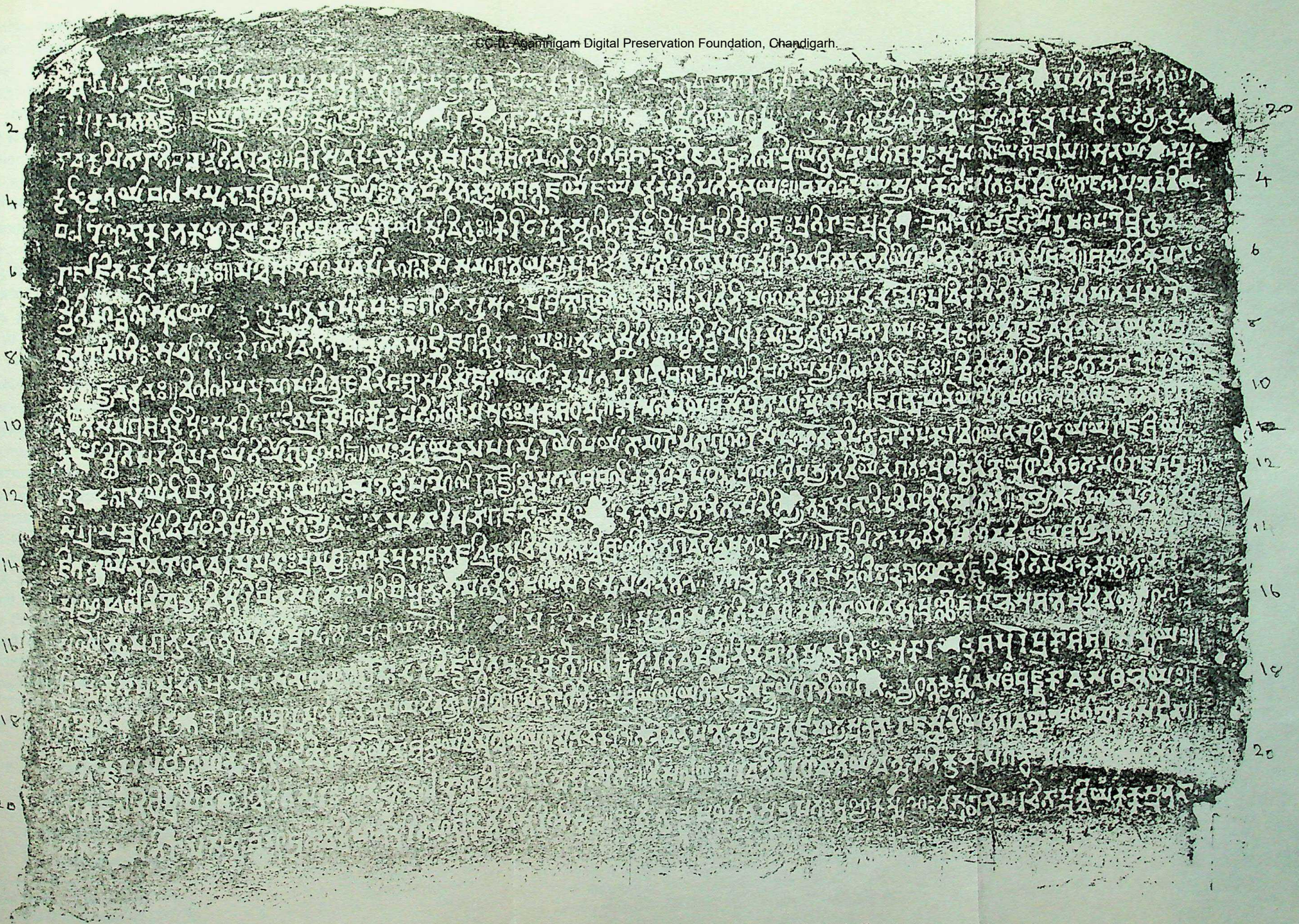

Risthal (Sītāmān Tehsil) Stone (Brahmi) Inscription of Prakāśadharman

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named. He also erected there a grand temple of Śiva, bearing resemblance to a peak of the Himālayas. Further, in the year 572 he built, at Daśapura, a shrine of Śiva under the name of Prakāśeśvara. He also constructed a temple of Brahmā at the same place, which was cloud-scraping. This reference is noteworthy; for temples dedicated to Brahmā are rarely mentioned. He also constructed a shrine of Kṛṣṇa and another of Bujjuka[4] for ascetics well-versed in the philosophical systems of Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Further, he constructed several halls, wells, monasteries, orchards as well as shrines in honour of other gods and also other charitable works in order to be fair to all.

The inscription next records that the *Rājasthānīya* Bhagavaddoṣa, the son of an *Amātya* (Minister) of the king's ancestor, caused to be excavated at the place of the present inscription a large tank which far outshone a sea in expanse and also erected a cloud-scraping shrine of Śiva. This Bhagavaddoṣa is also mentioned as a son of a minister of the Aulikara family in the Mandasor stone inscription[5] of Yaśodharman—Viṣṇuvardhana, who, as shown below, was probably the son and successor of Prakāśadharman.

The present *praśasti* was composed by the poet Vāsula, the son of Kakka. He is mentioned also as the author of the well-known inscription on the Victory Pillars of Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana at Mandasor.[6] This establishes a link between the two inscriptions and testifies to the relation between Prakāśadharman and Yaśodharman mentioned below.

The present inscription mentions the date 572 as falling in the reign of Prakāśadharman. It marks the construction of a grand temple of Śiva named Prakāśeśvara at Daśapura after he had constructed a large tank and a temple of Śiva in honour of his grandfather Vibhīṣanarvadhana at Risthal. Supposing that he undertook them one after another soon after his accession, they may have taken a period of about fifteen years for completion. As we have seen, they were completed in the year 572 (A.D. 515). Prakāśadharman's accession may therefore, be placed tentatively in *circa* A.D. 500. He was preceded by five ancestors who ruled from Risthal. Their periods may, therefore, be fixed tentatively as under—taking twenty years as the average duration of a generation.

Drumavardhana—*c.* A.D. 400-420
|
Jayavardhana—*c.* A.D. 420-440
|
Ajitavardhana—*c.* A.D. 440-460
|
Vibhīṣaṇavardhana—*c.* A.D. 460-480
|
Rājyavardhana—*c.* A.D. 480-500
|
Prakāśadharman—*c.* A.D. 500-520

4 Bujjuka seems to be a local deity.
5 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 145 ff.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

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The next known member of the Aulikara family was Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana, the vanquisher of the Hūṇa Chief Mihirakula. His Mandasor inscription is dated Mālava Saṁvat 589 (A.D. 532), which is seventeen years after the date of the present inscription. He was, therefore, probably the son and successor of Prakāśadharman.

Two more kings with names ending in *vardhana* are known from inscriptions, though their exact relation to any kings mentioned above cannot be ascertained. From a fragmentary record found at Mandasor[7] we know of a king named Ādityavardhana whose feudatory Gauri of the Mānavāyani family excavated a tank in a suburb of Daśapura for the religious merit of his deceased mother. Its date has not been preserved, but from another inscription[8] of Gauri we know that he was ruling in the Mālava Saṁvat 547 (A.D. 490). Again, from the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[9] of Varāhamihira we know of King Dravyavardhana of Avanti who bore the Imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*.

It will be noticed that the names of almost all these kings end in *vardhana*. As the Aulikaras had another branch, we may call this 'the *vardhana* branch' of that family.

Till now no predecessors of Yaśodharman were definitely known. He was, therefore, believed to have risen and fallen like a meteor.[10] Recently we tried to piece together whatever was known about the Aulikaras of the pre-Yaśodharman period and prepared a tentative genealogy of that Aulikara king for eight generations.[11] The present inscription shows that genealogy to be untenable. It now gives us a thoroughly reliable geneology of that vanquisher of the Hūṇas. Therein lies its great historical importance.

From inscriptions found at Bihār Kotrā, Gangdhār and Mandasor, we get the following genealogy of the Aulikara family, with their known dates :—

Jayavarman
|
(son)
Siṁhavarman
|
(son)
Naravarman (M.S. 461 and 474)
|
(son)
Viśvavarman (M.S. 489)
|
(son)
Bandhuvarman (M.S. 499)
|
Prabhākara (M.S. 524 or A.D. 467)

7 *Epigraphia Indica* (*E.I.*), Vol. XXX, Part IV.
8 *Loc. cit.*
9 *Adhyāya* 86, verses 1 to 4.
10 Majumdar, R. C. *History and Culture of the Indian People* (*H.C.I.P.*), Vol. III, p. 40.
11 Mirashi, *Indological Research Papers* (*I.R.P.*), Vol. 1, p. 103.

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As the names of almost all these kings end in *varman*, they may be said to have belonged to ' the *varman* branch of the Aulikara family.

Both these branches of the family seem to have risen to power at the same time, *viz.*, the end of the fourth cen. A.D. The Aulikaras were probably of the Mālava *gaṇa*; for they dated their records not in regnal years as other kings did, but in the Mālava Saṁvat. The Mālavas had their original habitation near the confluence of the Rāvī and the Chenāb in the Panjab. These Mālavas and their neighbours the Kṣudrakas were known as *Āyudha-jīvi Saṅghas* on account of their military organisation. They are mentioned in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and the commentary *Kāśikā* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. They offered stiff resistance to Alexander on his return journey. Later, when foreign tribes like the Greeks, Scythians and Parthians swarmed in the Panjab, these freedom-loving people migrated to the south and stayed for some time in the former Jaipur State. Their capital then was Mālavanagara, now known as Nagara or Karkoṭanagara in the Ṭonk District of Rājasthān. Several coins of the Mālava *gaṇa* have been found in the Jaipur State with the legend *Mālavāna jaya* in Prakrit or *Mālavānāṁ Jayaḥ* in Sanskrit, commemorating their brilliant victory over their enemy. They had their own era called Kṛta Saṁvat. The early dates of that era come from their original habitation. Later, at the close of the fourth cen. A.D. they moved still further southward and occupied the territory round Mandasor, Neemach and other places in Central India [12] This region was previously under the rule of the Western Kṣatrapas. The Aulikaras whose inscriptions have been found in this territory were probably the leaders of these Mālavas. Hence we find that their records have been dated in the Mālava Saṁvat. The country also became known as Mālava-deśa. Its previous name was Ākarāvantī which occurs in early inscriptions.[13]

The Guptas also conquered a part of this region in this very period.[14] From their original province of Magadha they had advanced as far as Eraṇ and Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh in the time of Samudragupta.[15] It was Candragupta II, the son of Samudragupta, who extended his conquests to Mālwā and Kathiāwād by overthrowing the Western Kṣatrapas in *circa* A.D. 395.[16] He then made Ujjayinī in Mālwā his second Capital. It seems probable, therefore, that the Aulikaras and the Guptas invaded Mālawā in a joint strategy and overthrew the Western Kṣatrapas in *circa* A.D. 395. Their amiable relations continued for a long time. They rushed to each other's aid in times of difficulty. Later, the Guptas extended

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 113 ff.

13 *E.I.* Vol. VIII, pp. 60 ff. *E.I.* VIII, pp. 257 ff.

14 Bhandarkar, D. R. *Inscriptions of Early Gupta Kings* (*I.E.G.K.*), pp. 221 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 231 ff.

16 Mirashi, *History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kṣatrapas* (*H.I.S.W.K.*), p. 83.

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their dominion far and wide. Their era spread to distant countries with the extension of the power. But they did not impose their suzerainty on the Aulikaras whose capital Mandasor lay within a hundred miles from their second capital Ujjayinī. The Aulikaras never submitted to them.[17] In none of their grants they have mentioned them as their suzerains, or even indicated their own subordinate position in a general way. They did not use the Gupta era in dating their own records as several feudatories of the Guptas did. In his inscription on the Victory Pillars Yaśodharman proudly asserts that his country was never enjoyed by the Guptas whose prowess was displayed in their subjugation of the whole world.[18] In times of difficulty the Aulikaras rushed to their aid. Prabhākara, the last known member of the *varman* branch of the Aulikaras is described as 'conflagration to the trees in the form of the enemies of the Gupta family.[19]' He had evidently fought successfully on the side of the Guptas when their kingdom was invaded by an enemy.

We have seen that the two branches of the Aulikaras were flourishing in the same period. From the available references in their inscriptions it seems that they both were ruling from Daśapura. Prakāśadharman of the *vardhana* branch constructed several religious and charitable works at Daśapura which signifies that it was his capital. The Victory Pillars of Yaśodharman of the same branch were also erected at Mandasor. So there is no doubt that Daśapura or Mandasor was the capital of the *vardhana* branch. As for the capital of the *varman* branch, several of its inscriptions have been found at Mandasor, and one passage clearly states that Bandhuvarman of that branch was ruling from there.[20] The question, therefore, arises, 'How were the two branches ruling from the same place Daśapura ?' The answer to it is not difficult to find. The two branches were, no doubt, ruling from the same place, but in different periods. The *varman* branch was in the ascendant in the earlier period as shown by its inscriptions. Then it was ruling from Daśapura. The other or *vardhana* branch may have been subordinate to it and may have been holding some other region, probably that round Risthal. It may be noted in this connection that the progenitor of that branch is described as *Senāpati* or Military Cammander in the present inscription.[21] It may be noted in this connection that no significant achievements or even religious or charitable works have been mentioned in connection with this branch until we come to the time of Prakāśadharman. So this *vardhana* branch

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17 R. C. Majumdar and most other scholars believe that the Aulikaras were feudatories of the Guptas, but this view is untenable. See *I.R.P.* I, p. 95.

18 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 147 ff.

19 *E.I.*, XXVII, pp. 14 ff.

20 See तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपालिवृषे बन्धुवर्म्मण्युदाने
सम्यक्स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पालयत्युन्नतांसे । Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 83.

21 See verse 4 of the present inscription.

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seems to have been administering a second rate division of the Aulikara kingdom. Its capital may have been at Risthal. The branch seems to have come to the forefront after the reign of Prabhākara of the *varman* branch. It was not without reason that Prakāśadharman, when he rose to power, constructed memorials to his grandfather in the form of a large tank and a magnificent temple of Śiva at Risthal. That place must have been the chief town of the family in former times.

The present inscription throws some additional light on the history of the Hūṇas in India. Verse 16 which refers to the victory of Prakāśadharman on Toramāṇa and other Hūṇa Chiefs runs as follows :

आ तोरमाणनृपतेर्नृपमौलिरत्न-
ज्योत्स्नाप्रतानशबलीकृतपादपीठाम् ।
हूणाधिपस्य भुवि येन गतः प्रतिष्ठां
नीतो युधा वितथतामधिराजशब्दः ॥

" By his victory he has falsified the Imperial title of the Huṇa which, up to the time of King Toramāṇa, had become established on the earth through his foot-stool being variegated by the clusters of the rays of the crest-jewels of princes (bowing to his feet.) "

The history of initial Hūṇa invasions of India is not yet known in detail. It is indeed well known that the Hūṇas invaded India towards the close of Kumāragupta I's reign, but it is generally believed that his son Skandagupta inflicted such a crushing defeat on them that for nearly half a century or perhaps even more they dared not to cross the Sindhu river and penetrate into the interior of India.[22] The present verse, if it truly describes the state of things in that age, shows that the Hūṇas, far from being enfeebled, repeated their incursions, conquered large territories and had a number of feudatories paying homage to them. Recent discoveries show that this was true in the case of Toramāṇa. His inscription has been found in the Saugar District of Madhya Pradesh.[23] It is dated in the very first year of his reign. This shows that he was ruling some-where in Central India from where he could easily pounce on the territory round Eraṇ in the Saugar District. Recently two copper-plate inscriptions[24] of his feudatory *Mahārāja* Bhūta have been discovered at Sanjeli in the Zālod *tālukā* of the Pañch Mahal District in North Gujarāt. In these inscriptions Toramāṇa is mentioned with the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. It is expressly[25]

22 See *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, p. 73.

23 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 158.

24 *M. S. University Copper-plates of the Time of Toramāṇa*, p. 14.

25 R. and T. make the *pada-ccheda* in the last line of verse 16 as *yudhā a-viṭathatām* and take the verse to mean that Prakāśadharman by establishing himself in the kingdom of the Hūṇa ruler Toramāṇa rendered the word *Adhirāja* factual in battle. Such construction is impossible, as *Toramāṇa-nṛpateḥ* is ablative, not genitive, being governed by the particle *ā*.

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stated in the afore-cited verse of the present inscription that Toramāṇa was the last of the *Adhirājas* ruling there. This shows that the Hūṇa family was holding that territory for some generations. The present inscription says that Prakāśadharman deprived Toramāṇa and others of their Imperial title and made them his feudatories as Yaśodharman did later in the case of Mihirakula.

It now remains to say a few words about two Aulikara kings *viz.* Ādityavardhana and Dravyavardhana, who, though they apparently belonged to the *vardhana* branch, have not been mentioned in the present inscription. Ādityavardhana, whose feudatory Gauri has left a fragmentary inscription at Mandasor may have been a collateral of the *vardhana* branch who held a small principality in the kingdom of the Aulikaras. As for *Mahārājādhirāja* Dravyavardhana of the Avanti country mentioned by Varāhamihira, he seems to have invaded and occupied the region round Ujjayinī when the Guptas left it after the close of Skandagupta's reign in *circa* A.D. 467.

Text[1]

Metres : Verses 1, 2 *Upajāti*; verses 3, 4, 11, 12 *Viyoginī*; verses 5, 6 *Vaṁśasthavila*; verses 7–10 *Drutavilambita*; verses 13, 14 *Puṣpitāgrā*; verses 15–21 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 22–27, 29 *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 28 *Mālinī*.

Lines

1 वामेन सन्ध्याप्रणिपातकोपप्रसङ्गिनार्द्धेन विघट्ट्यमानम् [।*] पिनाकिनश्शान्त- [विधेय]मर्द्धं वामेतरं वश्शिवमादधातु [॥ १ ॥*] रणेषु भूयस्स भु [वो] महिम्ने बिभर्त्ति यः

2 कार्मुकमाततज्यम् [।*] जयत्यसौ स्वस्य कुलस्य केतुर्ल्ल[ला]म राज्ञां भगवत्प्रकाशः ॥ [२।*] भु [व]नस्थितिधामधर्म्मसेतुस्सकलस्यौलिकरान्वयस्य लक्ष्म । द्रुमवर्द्धन इत्यभूत्प्र-

3 भावक्षपितारातिबलोन्नतिर्न्नरेन्द्रः ॥ [३ ॥*] शिरसीव पिनाकिनस्तुषारस्तुतिशीतामलदीधितिश्शशाङ्कः [।*] निजवङ्श[2]ललाम्नि यत्र सेनापतिशब्द स्पृहणीयतां जगाम ॥ [४ ॥*] सुनयावलम्बन—

4 दृढीकृतया बलसम्पदा प्रथिणया भुजयोः [।*] उदपादि तेन हतशत्रुजयो जयवर्द्धनक्षितिपतिस्तनयः ॥ [५ ॥*] बहलेन यस्य सकलं परितः परिवृण्वता जलमुचेव वियत् [।*]

5 बलरेणुना करभकण्ठरुचा स्थगिता बभुर्न्न किरणास्सवितुः ॥ [६ ॥*] किरीटरत्नस्खलितार्क्कदीप्तिषु प्रतिष्ठिताज्ञः प्रतिराजमूर्द्धसु । बलेन तस्योर्जितपौरुषः परैर्ब्बभूव

6 राजाजितवर्द्धनस्सुतः ॥ [७ ॥*] मखेषु सोमासवपानलालसे समागते यस्य मुहुर्द्दिवस्पतौ । ततान हस्ताग्रनिवेशिताननां वियोगचिन्ताकुलमानसा शचीं ॥ [८ ॥*] श्रुतविविक्तमनाः

1 From an estampage kindly supplied by Dr. Raghubir Singh.

2 Read— वंश

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7 स्थितिमान्बली स्फुटयशःकुसुमोद्गमपादपः । जगति तस्य सुतः प्रथितो गुणैः कुलललामविभीषण-वर्द्धनः ॥ [९ ॥*] सदुदयैः प्रविकाशिभिरुज्व(ज्ज्व) लैरविहतप्रसरैः

8 शुभरोहिभिः । सुचरितैः किरणैरिव भानुमान्क्षततमाङ्सि[3] जगन्ति चकार यः ॥ [१० ॥*] भुवनस्थितिगोप्तृभिर्न्नृपैर्धुरमाद्यैर्व्विधृतांबभार यः । स्वकुलोचितराज्यवर्द्धनस्तनयस्तस्य

9 स राज्यवर्धनः ॥ [११ ॥*] विललाप मुमोह विव्यथे विनिशश्वास विसंज्ञतां ययौ । उप-तप्तम[नो] बलोष्मणा द्विषतां यस्य विलासिनीजनः ॥ [१२ ॥*] क्षितिपतितिलकस्थितस्य बाहुद्रविण-

10 निपीतसमग्रशत्रुदीप्तेः [।*] सुचरितघटितप्रकाशधर्म्मा नृपतिललामसुतः प्रकाशधर्म्मा ॥ [१३॥*] अमलिनयशसां प्रभावधाम्नां सकलजगन्महनीयपौरुषाणाम् [।*] अवितथजनचारुराग-

11 भाजां स्थितिपदवीमनुयाति यो गुरुणाम् ॥ [१४ ॥*] सः स्वान्वयक्रमपरम्परयोपयातामारो-पितां गुणरसापहृतेन पित्रा [।*] लोकोपकारविधये न सुखोदयाय राजश्रियं

12 शु[भफ]लोदयिनीं बिभर्त्ति ॥ [१५ ॥*] आ तोरमाणनृपतेर्नृपमौलिरत्नज्योत्स्नाप्रतानशब-लीकृतपादपीठाम् [।*] हूणाधिपस्य भुवि येन गतः प्रतिष्ठां नीतो युधा वितथतामधिराजशब्दः ॥ [१६ ॥*]

13 संग्राममूर्द्धनि विपाठनिपातितानां तस्यैव येन मदवारिमुचां गजानाम् [।*] आ [भान्ति][3a] दन्तघटितानि तपोनिधि[भ्यो] भद्रासनानि रुचिमन्ति निवेदितानि ॥ [१७ ॥*] तस्यैव चाहवमुखे तरसा

14 जितस्य येनावरोधनवरप्रमदाः प्रमथ्य । लोकप्रकाशभुजविक्रमचिह्नहेतोर्व्विश्राणिता भगवते वृषभ-ध्वजाय ॥ [१८ ॥*] राज्ञे पितामहविभीषणवर्द्धनाय श्लाघ्यानुभावगुरु—

15 पुण्यफलं निवेद्य विस्तारि बिन्दुसरसः प्रतिबिम्बभूतमेतद्विभीषणसरस्समखानि तेन ॥ [१९ ॥*] एतच्च नृत्तरभसस्खलितेन्दुलेखावान्ताङ्शु [4]विच्छुरिदमेचककण्ठभासः ।

16 स्थाणोस्समग्रभुवनत्रयसृष्टिहेतोः प्रालेयशैलतट[क]ल्पमकारि सद्म ॥ [२० ॥*] सद्व्यब्दसप्तति—समासमुदायवत्सु पूर्णेषु पञ्चसु शतेषु विवत्सराणाम् [।*]

17 ग्रीष्मार्कतापमृदितप्रमदासनाथधारागृहोदरविजृम्भितपुष्पकेतौ ॥ [२१ ॥*] लक्ष्म भारतवर्षस्य निदेशात्तस्य भूक्षितः । अकारयद्दशपुरे प्रकाशेश्वरसद्म यः ॥ [२२ ॥*]

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3 Read— तमांसि

3 (a) The second *akṣara* appears more like *yā* than *bhā*, but *āyānti* does not suit the context. R. and T. read— आयामि

4 Read— वान्तांशु

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18 तस्यैव च पुरस्यान्तर्ब्रह्मणश्चारु मन्दिरम् [।*] उन्मापयदिव व्योम शिखरैर्घनरोधिभिः ॥ [२२ ॥*] आश्रयाय यतीनाञ्च साङ्ख्ययोगाभियो[गि]नाम् । व्यधत्त कृष्णावसथं बुज्जुकावसथञ्च यः ॥ [२४ ॥*]

19 सभाकूपमठारामान्सद्मानि च दिवौकसाम् [।*] योन्यांश्चान्यायविमुखो देयधर्म्मानचीकरत् ॥ [२५ ॥*] तेनैव नृपतेस्तस्य पूर्व्वजामात्यसूनुना । राजस्थानीयभगवद्दोषेणादोषसङ्गिना ॥ [२६ ॥*]

20 एत[5]ज्जलनिधिहेपि विशालं खानितं सरः । इदञ्च जलदोल्लेखि शूलिनः सद्म कारितम् ॥ [२७ ॥] किसलयपरिवर्त्तो वीरुधां वाति यावत्सुरभिकुसुमगन्धामोदवाही नभस्वान् ।

21 सर इ[द]मभिरामं सद्म शम्भोश्च तावद्विहतदुरितमार्ग्गे कीर्त्तिविस्तारिणी स्ताम् ॥ [२८ ॥*] इति तुष्टूषया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्म्मणः [।*] वासुलेनोपरचिता पूर्व्वेयं कक्कसूनुना ॥ [२९ ॥*]

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5 The use of एतत् and इदम् in this verse shows that the tank and the temple of Śiva were situated at Risthal where the inscription was discovered.

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THE DEPICTIONS OF ŚIVALIṄGAS FROM GUJARAT**

by

V. S. PAREKH, Baroda.*

Extensive explorations carried out in the region of Gujarat have revealed many more centres of *Śaiva* faith and numerous *Śaiva* sculptures. Of these *Śaiva* sculptures, Śiva's aniconic depiction the *liṅga* seems to be the earliest and the most widely popular form. The region of Gujarat presents not only a variety of *Śivaliṅgas* that were known but also depicts some of their unique features.

Most of the texts on religion and iconography describe two basic categories of the *liṅgas* '*Cala*' (movable) and '*Acala*' (immovable). These *liṅgas* are made by human beings. But, there are some varieties of *Śivaliṅgas* which were not made by human beings, and some, although created by human beings, have mythical base. Such *liṅgas* with Paurāṇic background are described here as Mythical *liṅgas*. The Mythical *liṅgas* include *Svayaṁbū liṅgas*, *Jyotirliṅgas*, *Bāṇaliṅgas* and *Ākāśaliṅgas*.

The *Svayaṁbhū liṅgas*[1] are not made by human beings but are natural *liṅga*-shaped stones generally found on the hills, natural caves, sea shore and mostly riverside. Three such *Svayaṁbhū liṅgas* have been found from Gujarat. In Marḍeśvara temple (c. 16th cent. A.D.) near Shahera (Dist. Pañchamahāls) there is a huge cylindrical top of a granite outcrop being worshipped as a *Śivaliṅga*. The famous Tapakeśvara temple in Chorvāḍ (Saurashtra) also contains *Svayaṁbhū liṅgas*. Here, a seasonal water-fall in a natural cave has developed several linga-shaped juttings on its floor which are worshipped as *Svayaṁbhū liṅgas*. Similarly, several cylindrical brownish-yellow rocks on the sea-shore at Bhavnagar (Saurashtra), known as Piṅgaleśvara, are still in worship. The pious devotees claim very hoary antiquity for such *Svayaṁbhūliṅgas*.

It is a well-known fact that the region of Saurashtra has a very ancient *Śaiva* centre of *Jyotirliṅga* worship at Somanāth Prabhās Pāṭaṇ.

Bāṇaliṅgas are water-worn pebbles picked up from the river-bed of the Narmadā, Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī and such other sacred places. The *Purāṇas* and

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1 *Siddhāntaśekhara* quoted in the *Prāṇatṣaṇī tantra*, p. 325; See also Bhattacharya, R., "Different types of *Śivaliṅgas*", *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2, p. 85.

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Tantras[2] describe different types of *Bāṇaliṅgas*. The availability of *Bāṇaliṅgas* in large number in the late medieval period (13th/14th cent. onwards) shows that as the popularity of this readymade *liṅgas* increased, the making and installation of *mānuṣaliṅgas* (*Acala*) gradually decreased.

The *Kedārmāhātmya* of *Śiva Purāṇa*[3] narrates that on seeing Pāṇḍavas, Śiva assumed the form of a *mahiṣa* (Buffalo). But the Pāṇḍavas caught and recognised the God in the disguise of buffalo by its head bent as if, still the God is hiding himself. Therefore, they invoked Śiva in that very form (of *mahiṣa*) and obtained several boons from the *Bhaktavatsala*. Several images depicting this theme have been found from Gujarat and its adjoining regions, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.[4] It may be noted here that the depictions of *Mahiṣa liṅgas* in Gujarat are known as Kedāreśvara.

Figure 1 (see on 3rd cover page) represents the God in the form of a buffalo in the usual circular *pīṭhikā*. Note flat and long horns of *mahiṣa* and a hump-like shape on its back which, perhaps, represents a *liṅga*. This is still in worship in Kedāreśvara temple at Pāṭaṇ. In the Rāmamandira at Sāḷavīvāḍa locality in Pāṭaṇ, a huge marble *pīṭhikā* carved with numerous miniature *liṅgas*, shows a figure of *mahiṣa* in the centre. Here, the *liṅga*-shape which is usually shown on its back, is conspicuous by its absence. (Fig. 2 see on last cover page). Another such sculpture lying in the temple compound of Hathijan village (Ta. Daśkroī, Dist. Ahmedabad) is carved from sandstone but its back and head are unfortunately missing (Figure 3). (See on 2nd cover page).

Two more specimens of this kind, are reported from Prabhās Pāṭaṇ. In this, the act of hiding head and the *liṅga*-like shape on the back of the animal are clearly visible.

The neighbouring regions of Gujarat also worshipped this *mahiṣa* form of Kedāreśvara. A small shrine by the side of the famous Ekaliṅgajī temple in Rajasthan houses a fine *mahiṣaliṅga* (Kedāreśvara). There is another such specimen lying under a tree in the temple—compound of Harsiddhamātā, Ujjain (M.P.), with linga in *pīṭhikā* shown on the back of *mahiṣa*.

All these images are unadorned and very late, approximately ranging from c. 15th to 18th cent. A.D.. It seems that this legend of Kedāramāhātmya got concretised and became very popular during the late medieval period.

The *ākāśaliṅga* is a *Śivaliṅga* which is hypaethral that is exposed to the sky. The worship of *ākāśaliṅga* also has a long tradition and has a Paurāṇic base.

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2 *Ibid.*

3 *Śiva Purāṇa* (tr. Ancient Indian tradition and Mythology), Vol. 3, Ch. XIX, the greatness of the *Jyotirliṅga* Kedāreśvara; See also *Skandamahāpurāṇa*, A. 67, *Kedāreśvara Māhātmya*.

4 Raval, Mukund and Varma, M. D., "Asāmānya *Śivaliṅga*"—*Svādhyāya* (Guj.), Vol. 16, No. 1, p. 74.

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Numerous specimens of *ākāśaliṅga* are reported from Mathurā, Ahichchhatra and several sites of north India. Some interesting specimens of *ākāśaliṅgas* have also been found from several *Śaiva* centres of Gujarat. A platform of Kṣatrapa period with *Śiva-liṅga* in situ and another with a huge *Śiva-liṅga* turned from its position and lying buried nearby are reported from the excavations at Devanīmorī[5] (Dist. Sābarkāṇṭhā). These *liṅgas* were open to sky. On the bank of a tank in Kārvaṇ, near Someśvara temple, a huge *ākāśaliṅga* (177 cms. height × cfs. 211 cms.) has been installed.

The theme of *ākāśaliṅga* is also found depicted on a sandstone slab, assignable to post-Gupta period, from Gaṇergaḍh (Dist. Sābarkāṇṭhā). In this, a *liṅga* is shown placed on a long stemmed lotus under a tree and the two royal ladies are seen worshipping the *ākāśaliṅga*.

The *Cala liṅgas* (movable or small portable) are classified into *ratnaja* (of precious stones), *lohaja* (of metals). *Śailaja* (of stone), *dāruja* (of wood), *mṛṇmaya* (of terracotta or clay) and *Kṣaṇika* (those made for occasion and disposed off immeditely after their worship is over). Of these *Cala liṅgas*, *ratnaja*, *Śailaja* and *Kṣaṇika liṅgas* seem to be popular in Gujarat.

There is a beautiful *ratnaja liṅga* known as Chandramaulīśvara in the possession of Jagatguru Śrīśaṅkarācārya of Dwārkā pīṭha (now in Dakor). Some interesting *Śailaja liṅgas* of *cala* variety have been found from Gujarat. All these miniature *liṅgas* so far found are carved from schist stone and are approximately 5 cms. in height. They show two varieties : simple *liṅgas* and the *mukhaliṅgas*. A simple *liṅga* assignable to Kshatrapa period is found from the recent excavation at Kārvaṇ.[6] Two more specimens with *Brahmasūtra* lines deeply drawn at its base are reported to have come from Jūnej (Dist. Jūnāgaḍha) and the recent excavation at Valabhīpura.

The earliest *mukhaliṅgas* known so far in this region belong to the Kshatrapa period. An *ekamukha liṅga* of *Cala* variety found from Bharucha has been published by U. P. Shah and R. N Mehta.[7] Unfortunately, the oblong face of Śiva depicted on the *liṅga* is damaged. Though broken, its *jaṭāmukuṭa* with beautiful Kushāṇa-style crest above it, the hairs artistically falling on the shoulders, *ardhamīlita* eyes and the traces of *ekāvalī* around the neck are clearly seen. Another *ekamukha liṅga* found from junej[8] (Dist. Jūnāgaḍha) is carved

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5 Shah, U. P., *Sculptures from 'Śāmalājī and Roḍā'*; See addendum, p. 136.

6 I am greateful to Mr. W. H. Siddiqui, the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Baroda, for kindly giving this information.

7 Shah, U. P. and Mehta, R. N., "A few early sculptures from Gujarat", '*Journal of the Oriental Institute*', Baroda, Vol. I, No. 2, 1951, pp. 160-64.

8 Palan, Narottama and Vora, Manibhai, "Mukhaliṅga", '*Kumāra*' (Gujarati), Vol. 49, No. 9, p. 72.

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in bold relief. In this, the terrific expression of the God, achieved by strung eye-brows and bulging eye-balls, probably represents some *ugra* aspect of Śiva. Stylistically, it has been ascribed to c. 9th cent. A.D.

Some fine miniature *chaturamukha-liṅgas* also have been found. A beautiful *Caturmukha liṅga* made of schist was unearthed from the excavation at Bharuch. This has been dated to c. 7th cent. A.D. on stylistic ground. Another tiny *Caturmukha linga*, datable to c. 9th cent. A.D., comes from Janej. Two more specimens found from Bārīā (Dist. Pāñchmahāls) and Chavlaj (Dist. Ahmedabad) belong to medieval period. The worship of numerous *mānuṣaliṅgas* (*Acala*) shows its wide worship in this region.

Numerous *mānuṣaliṅgs* of *Acala* variety have also been discovered from Gujarat. Several gigantic *liṅgas* found from the temples at Valabhipur (the capital of the Maitrakas) and its surroundings have become well-known due to their huge size. A lot of *liṅgas* with the linings of *Brahmasūtra* carved at its base are noted from Aṅkoṭaka (Baroda), Kārvaṇ (ancient Kāyāvarohaṇa), Somanātha, Kairā (Kaccha), Maṭoḍā, Sāmalājī (Dist. Sābarkāṇthā), Pāṭaṇ and several medieval Śiva temples show popularity of the worship of such simple *acala liṅgas*.

Sahasraliṅga is carved with 1001 miniature *liṅgas*, perhaps representing the omnipresence of the Supreme Lord pervading in the whole universe. A worn out *Sahasraliṅga* is found from the Śiva temple at Gāṁbhu[9] (Dist. Mehsāṇā). In this connection it may be noted that the name of the ancient '*Sahasraliṅga* tank' at Paṭaṇ (Dist. Mehsāṇā), which was built by Chaulukyan King Siddharāja Jayasiṁha is suggestive of the existence of similar *Sahasraliṅga* on its bank during c. 11th cent. A.D.. Moreover, the popularity of *Sahasraliṅga* in and around the Chaulukyan capital, Pāṭaṇ, is also interesting. It is likely that their matrimonial alliance with the Kadambās (Princess Mayaṇallā was married to Karṇadeva, father of Siddharaja Jayasimha) might have brought the tradition of the worship of *Sahasraliṅga* to Pāṭaṇ. A fine specimen of *Aṣṭottaraśata liṅga* is also found from Pāṭaṇ, (Fig. 4); (see on 3rd cover page). Besides this, tradition of depicting a multitude of *Sivaliṅgas* also existed here. In several examples 100, 500, 700 or 1000 miniature *liṅgas* have been carved. Here, it may be pointed out that *Prāṇatoṣaṇī tantra* describes the worship and making of the different numbers of multitude of the *lingas* for the fulfilment of different desires.

The worship of *mukhaliṅgas* also seems to be widely popular from very early time. Its earliest depiction so far known could be traced back to the Kshatrapa period.

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9 Gaudani, H. R., "Gujarātamān liṅga-pūjā ane Gujarātmān Śivaliṅgo", '*Pathika*' (Guj.), October, 1972, Dipotsavi Volume, p. 89.

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A colossal *ekamukha liṅga* (schist; size 125 x 65 cms.) is reported to have come from Kheḍbnahmā[10] (Dist. Sābarkāṇṭhā). In this, the oblong smiling face of Śiva is slightly damaged. The *jaṭā*, big circular *kuṇḍalas* and broad chain type necklace add beauty to this elegant *liṅga* (c. 3rd/4th cent. A.D.). There is a third vertical eye on the forehead. Immediately below the head, there are markings of *Brahmasūtra* linings. The modelling of the face, *jaṭā* and the ornaments show affinities with the Kushāṇ sculptures of Mathurā

Another elegant *ekamukhaliṅga* of schist is still in worship in the Kāśīviśveśvara temple at Shāmalājī (Fig. 5) (see front cover page). Stylistically it could be ascribed to the Gupta period (c. 5th cent. A.D.).

Some beautiful specimens of *ekamukha lingas*, belonging to the post-Gupta period, have been found from Unjhā (Dist. Mahesāṇā), vinchhivāḍā (Dist. Sābarkāṇṭhā) and Devhat (Ta. Chhoṭāudepur). Besides this, a few medieval examples noted from Cambay, (Dist Kheḍā) Kārvaṇ (Dist. Baroda) and Vaḍnagar (Dist. Mehsāṇā) are also beautifully carved.

The evidences of *Chaturmukha liṅgas* are very few and hence would show that *Chaturmukha liṅga* was not so popular as *ekamukhaliṅga*. There is a worn-out *Chaturmukha liṅga* near the temple of Prācī near Prabhāspāṭaṇ. Another *Chaturmukha liṅga* is found installed in the Chaumukha temple in Hathrol (Dist. Sābarkāṇṭhā).

The scene of *liṅga pūjā* seem to be a popular theme depicted on the narathara of several midieval temples. An architectural fragment of c. 11th cent. A.D. comes from the Prabhas Pātaṇ Museum. Here, a Śaiva devotee, is shown performing *arcana* of the *liṅga*, in front of the *pīṭhikā*. There is a beautiful depiction of the *liṅga*-worship on the narathara of the famous Sun temple at Moḍherā (Dist. Mehsāṇā). Similar scenes also occur on the medieval temples of Gaḷteśvara (Dist. Kheḍā), Ghumalī (Dist. Jāmnagar).

The above study indicates that the region of Gujarat has not only inherited the worship of varieties of *Śivaliṅgas* prevalent in India, but also shows some novel features from iconographic point of view. Of these, the popularity of installation of *Mahiṣa* as *liṅgas*, known as Kedāreśvara and the carving of multitude of *liṅgas* on the stone slab are significant addition in the Śaiva iconography of Gujarat.

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10 Shah, U. P., *op. cit.*, Fig. 79.

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A SCENE OF THE SOMA'S REDEMPTION ON AN INDUS SEAL

by

S. SANKARANARAYANAN*

The subjoined seal was discovered more than forty years back at Mohenjo-daro. E.J.H. Mackay published his views regarding the scene depicted in the seal[1] together with a plate of it. Since then it has attracted the attention of many scholars, like J. H. Mackay, John Marshall, Mortimer Wheeler, Bridget and R. Alchin, Narendra Nath Law, A. D. Pusalkar, D. D. Kosambi, S. R. Rao, Budddhaprakash etc. In this paper an attempt is being made to survey very briefly some of the important views of these veteran scholars and to understand the scene more fully.

Mackay describes[2] the scene as follows : In the upper register of the seal (from R.) there is a partitioned square receptacle intended for offerings to the goddess. This goddess or spirit is apparently nude, has a pair of horns between which there is a project and she is standing on a pipal tree. This tree is represented in a conventional and unnaturalistic way. But, it is nothing but a pipal tree as shown by the shape of its leaves. In front of the tree goddess there appears a worshipper perhaps another goddess, kneeling before the tree-goddess and having a similar headdress. The apparent object in front of this worshipper is merely a fracture in the seal. Behind this worshipper is a goat with a human face, looking on with evident interest. It is not a sacrificial animal. In the register below are seven, ministrants or votaries, or deities of lesser rank e.g. Śitalā and her six sisters—or even the daughters of the principal tree-deity. All the seven are dressed in a short skirt and they wear a long pigtail and a feather in their hair.

John Marshall says :[3] The pipal tree is portrayed in a half realistic and half conventional way. The deity within the tree is nude. The absence of any evidence of male sex, coupled with the fact that the tree-deities in India are usually female—all these point to the deity's being a goddess rather than a god. In front of the tree-deity and near the feet of the figure of the suppliant is a small

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1 Mackay, E. J. H., *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. II, (1938), Seal No. 430; magnified in plate XCIX (A).

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 337-38. See also Ernest Mackay, *Early Indus Civilization*, (Revised Ed. 1976), p. 58 and plate XVII 8.

3 *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (1973), pp. 63-65; Vol. II, plate XII, 18. Hereinafter we give only necessary additional observations of different authors.

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object which is slightly damaged, and which may be an offering to the deity on a small altar. The composite animal, partly bull and partly goat has a human face. Though the meaning of this animal is not clear it may be a protecting local divinity of a minor type accompanying the suppliant into the presence of the tree-goddess. The seven figures in a line at the bottom are the female officiants or ministrants of the tree-goddess.

Wheeler holds:[4] The deity on the right of the upper part of the seal may be a nude god or goddess within a pipal tree. The seven clothed figures below are ministrants or votaries engaged in a ritual dance. Wheeler also draws our attention to certain Indus seal which he believes to contain parts of this scene.

Bridget and R. Alchin[5] opine : The scene is of a tree-spirit of an indeterminate sex and the seven figures are the Seven *Ṛṣis* or the Seven Mother Goddesses of later times.

Narendranath Law follows[6] the lines of these foreign scholars. A. D. Pusalkar too describes[7] the scene as that of a Mother Goddess in between the bifurcated branch of a pipal tree to which an worshipper brings a goat for a sacrifice. The seven people below take part in the sacrifice. But at the same time, Pusalkar points out that though the pipal tree is still held to be sacred throughout India, though the goat sacrifice has survived in the worship of Śakti, Mother Goddess, yet the pipal tree is never associated with the cult of the Mother Goddess.

Sri S. R. Rao thinks :[8] There is in the seal a scene of the worship of a god associated with the pipal tree. The composite animal has a human face, a body of a bull and the horn of a goat. The seven figures below are males only.

D. D. Kosambi seems to suggest this :[9] The seal contains the cult object pipal tree, having two branches between which is standing the Mother Goddess. The kneeling figure also is that of the Mother Goddess only. The duality of the figures of the Mother Goddess and the male totemic cult animal, in no way associated with each other, indicate that the seal had a special purpose besides that of a cult worship, viz. to impose a protective tabu upon merchandise of a trader who had developed his own property independently of the temple and the Goddess and who therefore invented a different type of figure for protection. Further, calling the seal 'a sacrifice seal'; viewing the seven figures below as

4 *The Indus Civilization* (3rd Ed., 1968), p. 105.

5 *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, p. 312.

6 *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (1932), pp. 140-41.

7 Majumdar, R. C., etc. Ed. *The Vedic Age*: (Bombay, 1971), p. 190 and plate VII, 8.

8 *Lothal and the Indus Civilization* (Bombay, 1973), p. 136 and plate XXIV B.

9 *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History* (Bombay, 1975), p. 64, fig. 11; p. 78, note 13.

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Seven *Ṛṣis* ; viewing the greater figure above as a performer of some rite ; and taking another thing (probably what Mackay calls a damage on the seal and Marshall views as an offering or more probably the first symbol from the left in the second line of the inscription) as a figure floating between the heaven and earth ; Kosambi finds in this seal the origin of the Viśvāmitra-and-Triśaṅku legend.

Dr. Buddha Prakash is inclined[10] to identify the human-faced goat, and the central figure—which, Dr. Buddha Prakash thinks, is eating something—and the figure within the pipal tree respectively with (1) Vāma-Palita hotṛ, (2) Aśna and (3) Ghṛtapṛṣṭha, all of whom are found described as three brothers in the *Asya Vāmasya* verse of the *Ṛgveda*.[11] He also identifies the seven figures in the lower register with those seven persons who are also described in the same vedic verse as the seven sons of the above mentioned third brother and also as being eyed by the latter. The scholar further identifies the above mentioned Ṛgvedic triple brothers with the Upaniṣadic (1) *Avyaya-Akṣara-Aja*, (2) *Kṣara-Para*, and (3) *Parāvara-Avara*, all the three being mentioned in the Upaniṣad as three stages (*avasthās*) of the same *Aja*. And Dr. Buddha Prakash also identifies the seven sons with the seven categories viz. the Mind, Life, Fire, Water, Wind, Sky and Earth, which according to the Upaniṣad, were born of the said *Avara*. Thus Dr. Buddha Prakash seems to find on the seal a scene of the process of the creation of the cosmos.

Thus the seal under study seems to be one of the most enigmatic Indus seals. Though almost all scholars find here on the seal a scene of a tree-spirit, they find it difficult to explain and identify each one of the figures of the scene and to connect each with the other. Naturally, therefore, they have to take recourse to their own fertile imagination. Even those scholars who find on the seal a different scene do not find it easy to maintain their theories directly. Further no scholar seems to have taken the trouble of referring to any ancient Indian literature or any other evidence to substantiate their theory of associating trees in general and the pipal tree in particular with a female spirit or Mother Goddess or with the *Avara* mentioned above. Unless and until that is properly substantiated we cannot escape Pusalkar's point of objection that no Mother Goddess has ever been associated with the pipal tree. In fact the Purāṇas and the present belief associate the pipal tree with god Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Aśvattha-Nārāyaṇa is quite famous.[12] But a Vedist can easily solve the problem. For, a Ṛgvedic hymn on the plant kingdom (*Oṣadhisūkta*) describes all plants and trees

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10 *Ṛgveda and the Indus Valley Civilization* (Hoshiarpur, 1966), pp. 33 ff. and plate VIII.

11 *Cf.* अस्य वामस्य पलितस्य होतुस्तस्य भ्राता मध्यमो अस्त्यश्नः ।
तृतीयो भ्राता घृतपृष्ठो अस्यात्रापश्यं विश्वतिं सप्तपुत्रम् ॥ —*Ṛgveda* I, clxiv, 1.

12 For various Purāṇic passages to this effect see the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *aśvattha*.

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in general and the *Aśvattha* and *Palāśa* in particular as abodes of the Mother Goddesses.[13] Similar hymn is met with in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* too.[14] Further even if one is inclined to view the two figures in the upper register as some female deities and the figures in the lower to be of deities of lower rank, all connected with the pipal tree, even then one may easily identify them respectively with those who are called *apsaras* and the *gandharvas*, one of the abodes of whom is said to be the pipal tree in the Vedic literature [15] Thus the seal may have to be deemed to have an echo in the early Vedic literature and it need not be of non-Aryan source, even if the descriptions of the scene made by Marshall and others are accepted.

Further, to say that the absence of any evidence of male sex is indicative of female sex does not appear to be correct in view of the fact that many of the decidedly male figures on the Indus seals bear no evidence of male sex even though they too do not appear to wear any cloth.[16] Moreover, no scholar seems to have considered the probability of the so-called tree-spirit having a non-human face. The seal, as illustrated in different publications, gives rise to a doubt whether this deity is having the face of a horse. If this deity proves to be really a horse-headed one, how to identify it ? Again a Vedist may not find it difficult to explain this. For, the Brāhmaṇa part of the Vedic literature enjoins that the performer of a sacrificial rite called *Agnyādhāna* should first collect for the sacrifice, materials (*sambhāra*) from different sources, one such source being the *Aśvattha* or the pipal tree. By way of explaining why the *Aśvattha-sambhāra* is to be collected, the Brāhmaṇa tells us a story that runs as :

> Once god Agni departed from the rest of gods, assumed the form of an *aśva* or horse and took rest in the pipal tree ; consequently the tree came to be called *aśvattha* 'a tree where Aśva-Agni rested'. Hence, by collecting the *Āśvattha-sambhāra* one collects the Agni-parts of the tree for the *Agnyādhāna*.[17]

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13 या ओषधीः पूर्वा जाता देवेभ्यस्त्रियुगं पुरा । ... ...
शतं वो अंब धामानि ... ...
अश्वत्थे वो निषदनं पर्णे वो वसतिः कृता । —*Ṛgveda*, X, cvii, 1-5

14 IV, ii, 6. More or less the same verses occur in the *Vājasaneya* (XII, 75-79), *Maitrāyaṇī* (II, vii, 166-70) and *Kāṭhaka* (XVI, 152-56) *Saṃhitās* also.

15 *Cf.* नैयग्रोध औदुंबर आश्वत्थः प्लाक्ष इतीध्मो भवत्येते वै गन्धर्वाप्सरसां गृहाः ।
—*Taittirīya saṃhitā*, III, iv, 8.

16 See e.g. the Bullman, fighting a tiger; a man, fighting with two tigers; the two men with uprooted trees in their hands in the forest with tiger; the hunter in the tiger-hunt scene—all illustrated in *The Indus Script* of Dr. I. Mahadevan (Archaeological Survey of India, 1977) plate V, Nos. 103, 105; plate VI, Nos. 109, 111.

17 *Cf.* अग्निर्देवेभ्यो निलायत । अश्वो रूपं कृत्वा । सोऽश्वत्थे संवत्सरमतिष्ठत् । तदश्वत्थस्याश्वत्थत्वम् ।
—etc. *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, i, 3.

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Bearing this story in mind, one may suggest as follows : The horse-headed deity of the pipal-tree is none but Agni; his triple-horned or the *tri-śūla* head-dress indicates the famous *trayī* or the three Vedas or the Tretāgni i.e. Triple Fire viz. *Dakṣiṇāgni*, *Gārhapatya* and *Āhavanīya*, all well known for their importance in the Agni worship. The square construction to the right of the tree represents the *kuṇḍa* of the *Āhavanīya Agni* on the *yajñavedi* of the sacrifice. The principal figure that looks like kneeling, is the *yajamāna* or the performer of the sacrifice, collecting the *sambhāras* in front of him from the pipal tree. The animal behind him is the *yajña-paśu* or the sacrificial goat. The seven figures below are the seven priests of the sacrifice as an Agni-hymn tells us :

Sapta hotrāḥ saptadhā tvā yajanti[18]
'[O God Agni :]' the seven sacrificial
priests offers oblations to you in seven ways'.

Alternatively one may also identify the three horned deity with Vāyu of the Marut-group of deities presiding over the pipal tree; the seven figures below with the Seven Maruts, representing their groups;[19] and the quadruped with the *go-mṛga* which is found prescribed to be offered to Vāyu.[20]

These identifications of the scene seem to be more natural and more cogent than the ones we have seen above. But this also suffers from certain difficulties. They are as follows :

(i) What is taken to be a pipal tree looks like a creeper placed on an over shaped plate or stand and it does not appear to be a tree at all. This difficulty has been felt by the earlier scholars like Mackay, Marshall etc.

(ii) Further, when the sacrificer is engaged in collecting the *Āśvattha-sambhāra* there cannot be an *yajñavedi* or the Āhavanīya fire. For they are yet to come to be.

(ili) Moreover, the animal on the seal does not look like a goat. Its short tail, its hind legs and the twisted horns, all if viewed together, look like that of a sort of a deer. Its dewlap, conspicuous enough, though not very prominent, its body, fore-legs and their hoofs, and the absence of penis (For the Indus seal depict invariably and conspicuously the penis of the bulls and other male animals), and the absence of udder too—all these indicate that the animal meant here is a grown up female calf, of course with certain features of a deer.[21] This animal may be termed, something like *go-mṛga* in the Vedic language as it

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18 *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, I, v, 3; etc.

19 *Cf.* मरुतां वा एतदोजो यदश्वत्थः.....सप्त भवन्ति सप्तगणा वै मरुतः —*Ibid.*, II, iii, 1., मारुतोऽश्वत्थः *Ibid.*, III, v, 7.

20 See below.

21 This animal cannot be a tiger. *Cf.* Swami Sankarananda, *Rgvedic Culture of the Pre-Historic Indus*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1946), p. 105.

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has the features of both a cow and deer.[22] In our seal the animal is found also endowed with a human head. Why should this animal be so ? Besides, as Mackay has correctly pointed out, this animal is depicted as if it observes with interest something. Evidently it seems to be very much interested in observing what the principal or the so-called kneeling figure does. Further, the animal is depicted to move or approach the principal figure. There appears some sort of movement in its limbs, which Mackay and Marshall too probably noticed. Why should all these be so ?

iv. The head-dress and the attire of the seven figures on the lower register seem to indicate that the author of the seal has purposely depicted them to belong to a culture and a status that are altogether different from those of the figures on the upper line. The faces of the major number of these seven figures are defaced. Yet, those that are almost in tact, suggest that these seven are facing to the left and are singing or uttering something. In their legs also we find some movement, which Wheeler must have observed when he states that they are engaged in a sacrifical dance. More probably these seven are shown to move towards the left while the animal moves towards the opposite direction i.e. towards the right. Why should they be so ?

v. All have taken the principal figure to be kneeling. But a close examination seems to indicate that the person represented here, is sitting with his left leg folded and left thigh, knee and ankle touching the ground and his right knee raised up and the right foot placed on the ground, the left foot going behind the right foot. His body is slightly bent. His face is damaged. But the movement of his hands seems to indicate that the person in question is engaged probably in singing. Why should he be so ?

It may be observed here that the identification of the scene suggested above by us cannot answer these questions. So are the identifications that had been offered by earlier scholars. Once again a Vedic story may come to our rescue. The story goes :

> Formerly the gods were in this world and the Soma creeper in the third heaven. The gods were desirous of getting the creeper for performing sacrifice. Hence they created Kadru and Suparṇī. Of these two, the latter gave birth to the Metres. Once there arose a beauty-contest between Kadru and Suparṇī and in that the former came out successful and consequently the vanquished Suparṇī became her slave. The victor, however,

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22 *Cf.* वायव्यं गोमृगमालमेत.....नैष ग्राम्यः पशुर्नारण्यो यद्गोमृगः

Taittirīya Saṃhita, II, i, 10 and Sāyaṇa's gloss thereunder running:

गोभिः सह महारण्ये चरितुं गतात् वृषभात् कस्यांचित् मृग्यामुत्पन्नो गोमृगः ।

उभयलक्षणदर्शनात् तथात्वं निश्चेतव्यम् । Kieth renders गोमृग as 'a Gayal'.

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informed Suparṇī that she could win her freedom if she could arrange to bring the Soma from the third heaven. Suparṇī asked her daughters viz., the Metres, to bring the Soma. Then the Jagatī and the Triṣṭubh metres tried their best but failed miserably. Then the Gāyatrī metre went and, with the help of a female goat with light, she brought the Soma to the earth. Because she brought the Soma, she is held in the forefront of the sacrifices and is held to be foremost among the Metres.

While Gāyatrī was carrying off the Soma to the earth, the Gandharva Viśvavasu stole it. The creeper remained in the custody of the *Gandharvas* for three days. Then the gods thought of a plan to redeem the Soma. Observing that the *Gandharvas* are mad after women, the gods made Speech (Goddess) into a woman of one year old and sent her to the *Gandharvas* and redeemed the Soma. Then afterwards Speech took the form of a *rohit* or a kind of deer and ran away from the *Gandharvas*. To lure back Speech, the *Gandharvas* uttered some spell. On the other hand, the gods created a *vīṇā* or lute and sat playing on it and singing too. Now, Speech turned away from the *Gandharvas* and moved towards the gods. That is why women always fall in love with one who sings. Because the gods redeemed the Soma with Speech (*gauḥ*) of one year old, so the sacrificer should purchase the Soma with a cow (*gauḥ*) of one year old.

This story must have been quite popular in the Vedic age. For, we read the story at least in the *Taittirīya* (VI, i, 6), *Kāṭhaka* (XXIII, 10; XXIV, 1), *Kapiṣṭhala* (III, vii, 3-4) *Saṃhitās* and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III, ii, 4), each having some slight variations, all of them being complementary to each other. Now if we bear in mind this Vedic story, then it may not be difficult to explain the scene of our seal almost in all its details :

(i) The creeper in question is the Soma creeper that has been stolen off, according our Vedic story, by the *Gandharvas* and is being redeemed by the gods. Its *aśvattha* like leaves need not be a problem. For, as Macdonell and Kieth rightly observe,[23] this creeper is yet to be properly identified in its nature and details. May be it had leaves looking like that of the Aśvattha. So, if all the other details of the scene fit in well with the said Soma episode, the creeper in question which has no semblance of a tree, may better be identified with the Soma creeper rather than with the Aśvattha tree. In this context it will be of interest to note that the Ṛgvedic word *aśvattha* is at times taken to mean the Soma by the commentators.[24] So, it may not be totally wrong if one assumes

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23 *The Vedic Index*, s.v. *Soma*.

24 *I.e.* अत्राऽऽह तद्वहेथे मध्व आहुतिं
यमश्वत्थमुपतिष्ठन्ते— *Ṛgveda* I, cxxxv, 8.

'Then, accept the libations of the sweet juice at the sacrifice in which the triumphant stand around the Soma plant that spreads through rocks'.

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that the Aśvattha plant and the Soma creeper had some features, like leaves, in common.

(ii) The deity within the creeper, if it is a female one, is the Gāyatrī metre who carried the Soma away from the heaven to the earth. Probably the *Gandharvas* stole the Soma together with its carrier viz. the Gāyatrī metre. That is why the gods had to send Speech to redeem the Soma evidently along with Gāyatrī. For, all the Metres are connected with Speech. The *Triśūla*-like crown indicates the *Trayī* or the three Vedas that depend, to a great extant, on the Gāyatrī metre or the three constituent parts (what we now call *pādas*) of the Gāyatrī metre. Now, on the other hand, if the deity in question is to be taken a male one, then it can be easily identified with the Vedic Somarāja who is ved to preside over the Soma creeper.[25] In this case the head dress probably represents the three edges of the Soma stalk called *Tripṛṣṭha* in the Veda.[26] This identification of the deity with Soma may hold good even if one—inspite of what we have pointed out above—is inclined to take the plant to be a pipal tree. For Soma is the lord of the entire plant kingdom.[27] But the pipal tree may not suit the scene as described in the story.

(iii) The *agnikuṇḍa* on the right denotes the sacrificial connection of the Soma creeper and of the entire scene.

(iv) It is tempting to identify the seven figures in the lower register—if they were taken to be males—with the seven priests of the sacrifice and it may fall in line with the suggestion of Wheeler. Or, if they were to be viewed as female, they may be identified with Gāyatrī's seven sister metres viz., Triṣṭubh, Jagatī, Anuṣṭubh, Paṅktī, Bṛhatī, Uṣṇik, and Kakut who are found enumerated along with Gāyatrī in the Vedic literature.[28] And this identification may be in the line of Mackay's suggestion. One may also suggest that these seven figures represent the famous seven *vyāhṛtis* viz., Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, Suvaḥ, Mahaḥ, Janaḥ, Tapaḥ and Satyam that are found closely associated with Gāyatrī in the Vedic and the *sūtra* literature. On the other hand, if one sticks to the identification of the deity with Soma, then these seven figures could be identified with the said seven Metres.

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25 See e.g. *Tatttirīya Saṃhitā*, VI, IV, 7, 8: मित्रं देवा अब्रुवन् सोमं राजानं हनामेति ।

26 (i) *Cf.* अभीमृतस्य दोहना अनूषताधि त्रिपृष्ठ उषसो विराजति— *Ṛgveda*, IX, 75.3.

(ii) अभि त्रिपृष्ठं वृषणं वयोधम्— —*ibid.*, IX, 90.2.

(iii) अभि त्रिपृष्ठं मतयः समस्वरन्— —*ibid.*, IX, 106.11.

Sāyaṇa explains *tripṛṣṭha* as three *Savanas*, three *Stotras* or three *Pātras*. But A.Hillebrandt seems to be correct when he takes the word in the sense of "a Soma stalk with three edges." (*Vedic Mythology*, Eng. Translation, p. 243).

27 *Cf.* सोम ओषधीनामधिपतिः समावतु —*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, III, iv, 5.

8 See e.g. the *Taittirīya* (V, ii, 11) *Vājasaneya* (XXIII, 33) *Maitrāyaṇīya* (III, xii, 33) and *Kāṭhaka* (X, 5) *Saṃhitās*.

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For, it is enjoined that the *ātithya* (hospitable reception) is to be offered in the Soma sacrifice[29] to Soma along with the Seven Metres. Alternatively these seven figures may be identified with the Seven Maruts who are closely associated with Soma and who too receive oblation in the Soma sacrifice.[30]

But as we have already seen, the dresses and headdresses of these seven figures seem to indicate that they belong to a class which is different from that of the other two figures in the seal. Hence, they may better be identified with the *Gandharvas* of our story who stole the Soma but were lured away from the plant by the Speech-Woman and who uttered a spell to attract her back when she ran away taking the form of a *rohit*. Their number seven is not only sacred and mystic, but it also denotes an indefinite plurality.[31] It may be noted in our story of the Soma redemption the *Gandharvas* are mentioned by a word in plural number (*Gandharvāḥ*), but their exact number is not specified; and in the Vedic literature the *Gandharvas* are said to be eleven in number[32] and twenty-five in number[33] in different places.

(v) The deer-cum-female-calf is meant to represent the Speech in the form of a *rohit*. Hence she is shown in the upper line as if she is going towards the right i.e. away from the *Gandharvas* who are depicted below as if they are chanting something and moving towards the left. The features of the female calf is added to the *rohit* evidently because the redemption of the Soma must be made with one year old female calf as the *vidhi* enjoins.[34] If someone finds some features of a goat, no doubt a she-goat, even then that need not be incongruous in the scene. For, as our story goes, Gāyatrī had the help of a she-goat in bringing the Soma from the heaven. The human face, obviously the face of a woman is added purposely to this animal. Because, it is not an ordinary *rohit* or a female calf both having no speech, but it is only the Speech herself in the form of an animal, as the story tells us. In this seal of ours as well as in the Vedic story of the Soma's redemption there appears to be a clue for why both the speech and the cow are called alike as *gauḥ* in Sanskrit.[35] This Speech-

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29 *Cf.* यावद्धिवै राजाऽनुचरैरागच्छति सर्वेभ्यो वै तेभ्य आतिथ्यं क्रियते छन्दांसि खलु वै सोमस्य राज्ञोऽनुचराणि etc.—*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, VI, ii, 1.

30 *Cf.* धमन्तो बाण मरुतः सुदानवो मदे सोमस्य रण्यानि चक्रिरे —*Ṛgveda*, I, lxxxv, 10.

31 See Monier-Williams, *Skt. Eng. Dict.* s.v. *sapta*.

32 *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, I, 9; the *Śabdakalpadruma* s.v. *gandharva*.

33 *Cf.* वायुर्वा त्वा मनुर्वा त्वा गन्धर्वाः सप्तविंशतिः
and see the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, I, vii, 7 and Sāyaṇa thereunder.

34 I.e. एकहायन्या गवा सोमं क्रीणाति ।

35 It may be noted here that the above Vedic story of the Soma's redemption contains protosteles of the later legends of the beauty contest between Kadru and Vinatā; of Vainateya Garuḍa's winning of the Amṛta (nector) from the heaven; and of the partition of the Amṛta among the gods and the demons by Viṣṇu assuming the form of an exceptionally enchanting woman (Mohanī) and luring and deceiving the demons.

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animal is depicted as if she is observing and hearing with all attention what the principal figure in front of her does i.e. sings. She is also moving towards that figure.

(vi) The principal figure represents gods in general.[36] Its pig tail, like that of the Soma figure signifies its divinity and not its feminity. For in the Indus seals, the decidedly male gods too are found endowed with such pig tail. The headdress of this figure is damaged. But it is certain that it is altogether different from that of the Soma figure. Further the person represented by the central figure in our seal is depicted in a sort of sitting posture as we pointed out earlier and also as our story runs. He is singing a song to attract the Speech-animal.

(vii) The damaged object, which is very near to him may be a *vīṇā* or lute on which, as the story tells us, he played first. Probably it is kept resting on a stand.

Thus the scene depicted on the Indus seal under study seems to fit in almost well with the details of the Vedic story of the Soma's redemption. Mackay, Marshall and other foreign scholars who were the pioneers in the field as well as the Indian scholars who followed the path of these poineers did not notice this correlation not because they could not, but only because they had a mind, prepossessed (*pratiniviṣṭacitta*) by their strong views that like these scholar-giants, the authors of the Vedas too must have belonged to the race of foreign conquerors that the Indus Civilization must be non-Āryan and pre-Āryan; that the so-called Vedic Āryans were not only inimical to this civilization but also were the destroyers of it; and that therefore whatsoever we find in the Indus sites must be necessarily non-Vedic. Now the latest researches in the field show us the composite character of the Indus population and its civilization consisting of Āryan elements also. The Āryans too appear to have contributed their share to the evolution of the Indus civilization.[37] Both the so-called Vedic Āryans and the non-Āryans must have lived more harmoniously than the members of the modern homogeneous society, quarrelling among themselves and robbing and killing their own kith and kin.[38]

While bringing this paper to a close it is incumbent on us to consider a probable pertinent objection, an archaeologist is likely to raise in this context.

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36 The author of the seal had not attempted to show more number of gods obviously for want of space.

37 *The Vedic Age*, p. 198; S. R. Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 etc. In fact A. D. Pusalkar goes to the extent of saying that there is nothing inconsistent in calling the Vedic Āryans the author of the Indus Civilization, or styling this civilization as 'Vedic' or 'Āryan'. See the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, p. 395.

38 For further discussions on these points, see Prof. R. C. Majumdar's paper, 'Ṛgvedic Civilization in the Light of Archaeology' published in the author's *Reading in Political History of India* (Delhi, 1976), pp. 13-22.

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On the basis of the C-14 determination and on other evidences, the archaeologists assign the Indus civilization to a period between c. 2800 and 2200 B.C.,[39] while on the linguistic grounds, the *Ṛgveda*, the oldest of the Vedas is believed to be not much earlier than 1500 B.C.[40] Now the story of the Soma's redemption we saw above is found in the *Yajurveda Saṃhitās* which are considered to be later than the *Ṛgveda*, by the modern researchers. Therefore to explain the scene of an Indus seal of *c.* 2500 B.C. with the help of a story in the *Yajurveda* of an age which was later by more than 1500 years may not be proper and safe. However, without entering in any controversy with the archaeologists and without questioning the validity of the so-called linguistic testimony, one may point out this: As we saw above, the Vedic Āryans too had contributed to the growth of the Indus civilization. The *Ṛgveda* betrays that its authors were not barbarians but were well civilized people, and that they must have settled in India in an age which was considerably so much removed from the date of their cultural progress as to make the Āryans forget their original home—if at all they had had any—outside India. It is very likely that the Vedic Āryans had inherited a good deal of the ideas of their own forefathers who were among the makers of the Indus Civilization. Further it is indeed too much to assume that the collection (*Saṃhitā*) of the *Ṛgveda* now available to us represents the entire thought and literature of the Ṛgvedic age. It is very likely that parts of the thought and literature which escaped the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā are met with in the later *Saṃhitās*. Further it may also be noted that in the *Ṛgveda* itself there are hints of almost all myths, including the story of Soma's redemption, that are found elaborated in the later *Saṃhitās*, as shown by Hillebrandt.[41] Again there are scholars who suggest that certain gods and ideas, though quite popular among the masses of the early Āryans, were not perhaps so among the orthodox families of the early poets of the Vedas; and that those gods and ideas came to assert themselves in due course.[42] Moreover it is an estrablished fact, as accepted by all, that the Indus culture still survives in India.[43] Therefore it cannot be and should not be illogical and improper to assume that the Soma episode in the later *Saṃhitās* is nothing but a story that originally belonged to the Indus people. Indeed, all the scholars even the archaeologists who have so far examined the seal, tried to explain the seal only in the light of what they find to-day in the customs and manners of the Indian people of the 19th-20th century, or in the *Purāṇas* or in the *Upaniṣads*. It is needless to point out that our Vedic story is decidedly much nearer to the Indus Civilization in point of time, and hence is nearer to the scene also in point of its contents.

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39 *The Vedic Age*, p. 196.
40 *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 241.
41 *Op. cit.*
42 Dandekar, R. N., *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, (Poona, 1979), p. 72.
43 *Vedic Age*, p. 201.

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Hence in this paper we do not intend to propose any relative chronology between the Indus seal and the *Saṃhitās*. What is suggested here is this: We find an echo of the theme of the seal in the Vedic story given above and *vice-versa*; or rather in both these we find an echo of some common source. In other words the Vedic poets and the Indus artists conceived and fancied alike and made and fashioned alike the objects of their respective fields of arts.

Post Script

After I completed my writing of this paper, I received from Dr. S. R. Rao an offprint copy of his learned paper "Deciphering the Indus Valley Script", published in the *Indian and Foreign Review*, dated 15th Nov. 1979 (pp. 13-18). For this favour I thank Dr. S. R. Rao. In his paper Dr. Rao identifies the standing figure in the upper register of our seal with god Agni, the kneeling figure in the front with a devotee and the seven figures below with the seven chiefs who are taken to have connection with the epithet *Saptamānuṣa* of Agni. The inscription in two line above the animal is also read by Dr. Rao as: (line 1) *Tṛdaṣa* (line 2) *Sāra*. The word *Tṛdaṣa* is supposed to be the same as the classical Sanskrit *Tridaśa* applied to gods in general, while *Sāra* is held to be the name of the owner of the seal.

Now it may be pointed out that we have already discussed the probability of the seal depicting the god Agni being worshipped. Here it is not our concern to discuss and prove the correctness or otherwise of the above reading of the inscription. Nor do we propose to discuss the antiquity of the expression *tridaśa* as a general name of the gods, as it does not seem to occur in any of the *Saṁhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas* and even in the principal *Upaniṣads*, even though it does occur in the *Dharmasūtras*, epics, the *Purāṇas* etc. However, one may be tempted to suggest that *tṛdaṣa-śāra* could as well stand for the classical *tridaśa-śāra* meaning "the strength *or* energy of the gods *or* of the heaven"; and that it could as well serve a sort of label to the Soma scene, depicted in the seal.

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THE HUGE MANUSCRIPT OF THE HOLY QUR'ĀN AT BARODA

by

M. H. SIDDIQI*

Natural as well as artificial calamities like floods, wars, conflicts, chaos do not only prove fatal to life and property of that period, but have caused much injury to its culture, art and architecture. At times, such havocs lead to destructions which are irreparable. Gujarat too was a victim of such a blow.[1] Whatever has survived from such calamities are naturally the object of interest to some current branches like archaeology, history and literature. However, the concern over the preservation of such rarities is a bit lax. May be that the present state of affairs is playing their role, and science and technology have overpowered our ancient culture, so much so that people in general have lost interest or rather, are negligent towards our rich tradition and heritage, which rightfully should receive due consideration. Even the Government has not been spared from this laxity. But how far are we, as a member of conscious society, aware of our duty at drawing its attention to such problems ? No doubt, there have remained elaborate plannings on paper, save its practical implementation. It is high time that the incessant cry of culture is heard and understood, lest we should once and for all, lose this precious treasure of the past for ever.

Baroda too was not spared from the calamities of nature as well as man oriented like riots. The most harmful significance can be seen in the destruction of libraries. Thousands of Persian and Arabic manuscripts have been destroyed. It is believed that whatsoever manuscripts remained in personal collections were destroyed in flood of 1927.

Jāmi'Masjid[2] of Baroda is one such place of historical and literary importance as it preserves to this date, the rare huge manuscript of the Holy *Qur'ān*, the biggest in the world in size. The name of the scribe of this *Qur'ān* is Muḥammad Ghauth who wrote it right in Jāmi'Masjid. No details of his life

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1 Maulānā Abūzafar Nadvī has mentioned 43 libraries in Gujarat, in which there were vast collections of Arabic, Persian and Urdu manuscripts. See Gujarāt Ki Tammaddunī Tārīkh, under the title of *Gujarāt Ke Islāmī Kutub Khāne*, 1962, pp. 218-250. But unfortunately these libraries have ceased to exist except Pīr Muhammad Shāh Library of Ahmedabad, in which a few but important manuscripts of Arabic, Persian and Urdu are in possession. Prof. M. G. Qureshi is about to complete the catalogue work of this library.

2 The mosque was built during the time of Muzaffer Shāh Ḥalīm in 910 A.H. (1508 A.D.).

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and his other activities are known to us. He himself remained an enigma. However, his grave which has been badly defaced during the riot of 1976, lies on the bank of Bāpod tank near Bāpod,[3] in a desolated state.

Muḥammad Ghauth has been known to have led a saintly life in the corner of the mosque upto his last breath. Doubtless, such a vast endeavour as this could not be the work of a lone person. Many a hand accounted to bring forth, the present shape of the copy including the encouragement of the ruler then.

The actual date of the composition of the huge *Quran* is highly controversial. The current data reads 1256 A.H. (1833 A.D.), the time of Sāyājī Rāo II (d. 1847) but the cipher is the enlargement of the ditto, which gradually got faded, in order to preserve the dot, cipher was used, which now reads 1256 A.H. (1833 A.D.). The actual date hence may safely be taken as 1206 A.H. (1791 A.D.), the time of Mānājī Rāo Gāekwad (d. 1793 A.D.).[4]

The Qur'ān is written on hard papers specially brought from Ahmedabad, which are not easily mothworn. Each paper is carefully bordered on three sides with thin cloth to prevent terring. The papers are beautifully bordered in golden impression. See Fig. 1 & 2.

The most important feature of the *Qur'ān* is its length which runs 6'-2", breadth 3'-4".[5] The commentary in Persian which runs outside the text is 5'-10.2" and its breadth is 2'-11½". The length of the text is 4'-10½", while the Persian translation is written in consequent gap of .7". Every line in which the Quranic text is written has the breadth of 4.1" or 4.2". The Persian translation and the Persian commentary in the margin of the *Qur'ān* is the famous "*Tafsīr-i-Husainī*" of Ḥusain Wā'iẓ Kāshifī. The *Qur'ān* is bound in 15 volumes and each contains two startas (pārah). There are forty leaves and eighty pages in each volume, in all six hundred leaves and twelve hundred pages. Two pages in each 22 and 23 startas (pārah) are missing. There are other errors on the part of the scribe regarding the placement of dots. For example, in many places ta'lamūn has become ya'lamūn due to misplacement of dots.

The *Qur'ān* is written in the naskh style, the most common script in India during those days.[6]

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3 Eight Km. away from Baroda.

4 Elliot, F. A. H., *Rulers of Baroda*, 1937, Baroda State Press.

5 The length is mentined 6'-3" and breadth 3'-5" on the notice board at Jāmi'Masjid, though I measured it to find 6'-2" and 3'-4" respectively.

6 The naskh style is most simple one other than nastàliq and Shikastah. It is believed that the Kūfi and naskh styls flourished side by side while the naskh reached its perfection in Persia from where it was introduced to India. The very nearing of naskh explains its important place in the world of calligraphy. It means to cancel all that precedes. Currently it remains a very popular script amongst the modern scribes of the *Quran* in modern Muslim world. Bukhārī, Y. K., "*Development of Indo-Iranian Calligraphy*", Bayāz-Delhi, Vol. I, No. 2 and 3 pp. 75-87.

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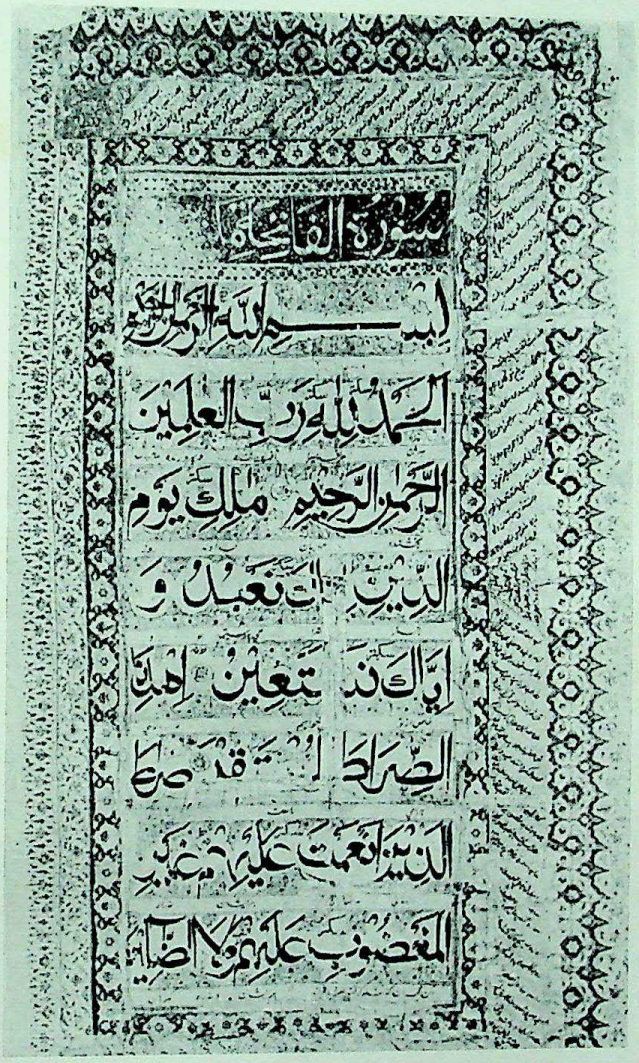

Fig. 1
Sūrah al-Fātiḥah (the opening chapter of the Qur'ān)

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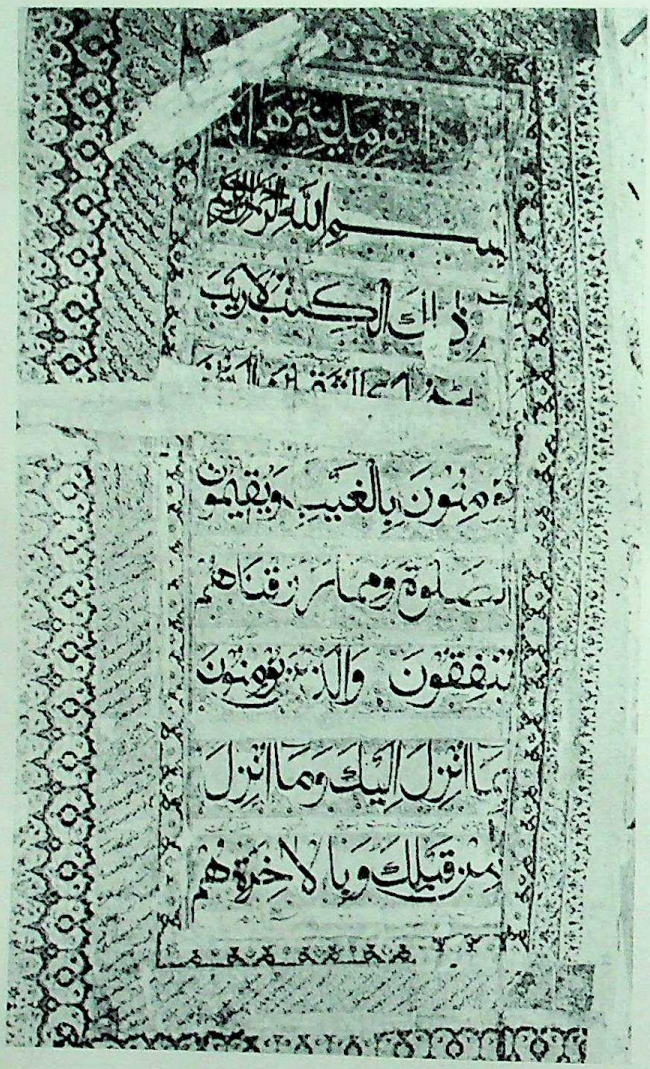

Fig. 2
Sūrah al-Baqarah

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Thrice in a year, in the month of Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍān all volumes of the *Qur'ān* are brought down in the mosque for recitation.

Presently the *Qur'ān* is preserved in a separate room on the first floor at the Jāmi'Masjid, lies on the wooden shelves divided in three heirarchical arrangements. Due to inadequate maintenance, some of the pages have already started weathering (see photograph No. 1). It is a matter of grave tragedy that no one feels strongly for the preservation of such a work so rare in its own way. There cannot be two opinions now that such a work should be properly looked after at all costs. Needless to restate that a work which has fortunately survived the cruelties of man and nature, should now be handed gently, for it will not relive its age. I would like to urge the Masjid Sabhā under which management this library and mosque run, to take due steps with all the more rigour than before.

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A UNIQUE INDRAGARH SCULPTURE OF VIṢṆU IN THE CONTEXT OF TRIVIKRAMA IMAGES

By

DEEPAK HANMANTRAO KANNAL*

The fifth of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, Vāmana—Trivikrama is significant in the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism and Vaiṣṇavite sculpture, in many ways. It is the earliest known form of Viṣṇu, described in the Vedic texts.[1] The *Urukrama* or *Urugāya* of the Vedas reveals the seeds of the story of Vāmana and Bali. "Bali, the demon, grandson of Prahlāda, became enormous and conquered all the three *Lokas*. Viṣṇu, then in the form of a dwarf approached him and asked for three steps of land. Bali granted it and immediately after the *dāna* water was poured on the dwarf's hand, the dwarf turned into a colossus, who covered the *Pṛthvī* with his first step, the celestial regions with the second and with the third step he pushed Bali to the nether world"—is the story in short, which is very well known, starts getting its legendary form in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] and reaches to its final form in *Bhāgavata*.

Vāmana is the first incarnation of Viṣṇu in the form of human being[3] and it is the only incarnation in which the God reveals his true reality, and the growing ambition of probably the most powerful antagonist of Gods, Bali, necessitates to manifest his total powers for accomplishing his mission.

Representations of this dramatic event culminating in the colossal form of Viṣṇu is one of the most dynamic achievements of Vaishnavite sculpture. An appropriate representation of the gigantic concept is found in Indian sculpture from 4th C. onwards. The earliest Trivikrama sculptures like ones from Ramgarh (Dist. Vidisha) Padampawaya, or Mrigasthali and Lajimpat (Nepal) are lesser known in comparison with the images from Badami (Cave—3), Mahabalipuram,

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 33, Nos. 3-4, pp. 347 to 351.

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1 *Ṛgveda*, 1: 155: 5.

For further discussion pl. refer to

(a) The three strides of Vishnu : FBJ Kuiper, Indological studies in honour of N. Brown, Editor Ernest Bender.

(b) Some remarks on Vedic Vishnu : S. G. Kantawala paper presented in the National Seminar on 'The impact of Vaishnavism on the Indian Arts', Baroda Nov. 83—Unpublished.

2 ..... स हि वैष्णवः यद् वामनः । शतपथब्राह्मण 14: 1: 1.

3 The first four out of the standard ten incarnations are in the forms of fish, tortoise, Boar and Man-Lion.

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or Ellora. But all of them have been discussed by scholars in different contexts at length along with some later images from South and North.

While studying the evolution and development of Trivikrama sculpture and the problems which would have occurred in concretising such mind boggling concept in particular, some interesting phenomena and facts were observed by the present author. An image of Trivikrama lying scattered in the collection of Chhatri Museum, Bhanpura (M.P.) is one of them. The image originally from a fortress situated nearby, Indragarh, is in four fragments. All of them when pieced together make almost a life size image. Though some portion of the torso, one leg and a few hands are missing, fortunately the portions having iconographical significance are still intact. It seems that it has not yet been realized that these fragments are of a single image which may prove to be one of the most important Trivikrama images, showing amalgamation of characteristics both from South as well as North. Like all other Indian sculptures the Trivikrama images also show certain specific differences in representation in Southern and Northern regions of India. In case of Trivikrama images the figure near the raised leg of the great God penetrating into space, is one of the conspicuous features in this context. The earliest known images from Ramgarh and Pawaya are not of much help in this discussion, because the former is without any detail except the central figure and the latter is broken badly in which almost all the celestial details are missing except the figure of Jāmbavan circumambulating the God's head.[4] A very small image of Trivikrama in Mathura Museum, measuring about fifteen inches, shows the God's lifted leg entering into the mouth of a grotesque face, which becomes a characteristic feature of the later North Indian images.

Scholars have been debating on the identification of the abovementioned grotesque face. J. N. Bannerjea and Shivaramamurti believe that, it is Rahu, placed there to suggest the celestial region.[5] N. P. Joshi states with the support of *Varāha Purāṇa* that it is the *Brahmakapāla* which crackled at the thrust of the God's raised leg.[6] A difference in reading of a *Śloka* from *Viṣṇudharmottara* also inspired some scholars to interpret it as a head of a God with bulging eyes.[7] In the Nepal images this grotesque figure is seen adoring Viṣṇu's foot with his hands. Considering Rahu's existence in the form of just the facial mask, this figure with the other limbs is difficult to be taken as Rahu. It can be taken as

4 Jāmbavan is also seen playing on drum, declaring the triumph of the God, in many a sculpture.

5 Banerjea, J. N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1974, p. 419.

6 Joshi, N. P., *Bharatiya Murtishastra*, M. U. B. P. Board, Pune, 1979, p. 68.

7 एकोर्ध्ववदनः कार्यो देवो विस्फारितेक्षणः

पाठभेद – एकोर्धवदनः — विष्णुधर्मोत्तर 85/55.

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the God with bulging eyes[8] and grotesque face. In other North Indian images, the interpretation of Dr. Joshi can be accepted, though he has not stated convincingly why the foot is always shown entering into the mouth of that face. This face is seen in the Badami Trivikrama panel also and its representation as well as intention seems to tally with Bannerjea's and Shivaramamurthi's speculations, but it is never seen in south after Badami, instead, Brahma washing the God's lifted foot is seen invariably in later South Indian images. Brahmā is also found in Eastern Indian images but rarely shown washing the God's feet. He sits passive above the God's lifted foot, as found in Mahabalipuram panel.[9]

This representative feature of the South Indian Trivikrama images is found in North for the first time and that is in Indragarh. This image which stylistically fits in the early medieval period, wearing a cylindrical Gupta type *mukuta* and curls of hair peeping out on the forehead and resting on the shoulders too. An inscription from the same site, of the date corresponding with 711 A.D. (V. S. 767)[10] also supports this dating. It is an inscription of Rāṣṭrakūṭas who ruled this region in early 8th C.

The present author has not come across any image prior to this one, having the detail of Brahmā washing Viṣṇu's foot. It also reminds him of the Shaivite sculpture—*Liṅgodbhava mūrti* in which the supremacy of Śiva is established by allotting inferior or subordinate positions to Viṣṇu and Brahmā. The sectarian rivalry is also revealed in Trivikrama sculptures in which the flow of water coming down from Viṣṇu's foot is considered to be the holy river Gaṅgā and named as Viṣṇupadī. The great Poet Jaideva[11] and quite a few south Indian poets like Veṅkaṭanātha[12] have sung the event with great adoration in which the river is said to have reached Śiva's head, as it is popularly known, after the abovesaid event. In a few sculptures like the bronze Trivikrama image from Nagalapuram in which Śiva is shown sitting on mount Kailās below the raised leg of Trivikrama and the flow of water pouring down to his head. Examples of this representation are seldom seen but the river coming down from Viṣṇu's foot is seen all over in South and in the image of Indragarh also, the flow of water is meticulously carved. It is quite curious that a South Indian feature was introduced in North, but under the patronage of a southern dynasty. These two facts

8 *Ibid.*

9 e.g. Image from Joradeul in Dacca Museum or the image from Bihar in National Museum.

10 Trivedi, H. V.—A further note on the Indragarh—Stone inscription; Indian History Congress Ahmedabad, 17th Session 1954.

11 छलयसि विक्रमणे बलिमद्भुतवामन
पदनखनीरजनितजनपावन । — जयदेव, गीतगोविंद । I.7.

12 नित्यावासं.....पाथोदिव्यं पशुपतिजटास्पर्शशून्यं विभाति ।
वेंकटनाथ, हंससंदेश I-49. C. Shivaramamurthi, *Gaṅgā*, Oriental Longman, New Delhi, 1976, p. 5.

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together speak quite many things about the exchange of ideas between South and North. The geographical situation of this site—which is almost in the centre of India, also plays a very important role.

Four fragments of the above discussed image are found in Chhatri Museum, one of which has been reproduced in a monograph in Hindi, Dashapura, but even the author of it doesn't seem to be aware of the other fragments lying around. The one which has been reproduced is the lower right corner of the panel, showing Bali bestowing the gift to Vāmana. Along with the demon shooting arrows towards the God, a few more demons and Śukrācārya are also seen standing astonished in the crowd.

The adjoining fragment shows only the broken right leg planted firmly on the ground and a figure bowing to it. This planted leg is also originally a south Indian feature. The North Indian Trivikrama figures are shown leaping diagonally in the space. They are swift, with long strides—nearer to the Vedic description—*Urugāya, Urukrama*. The South Indian figures reveal the status of Viṣṇu as seen in Purāṇic age. He is always shown standing erect with tremendous confidence and dignity of the supreme power, planting one leg firmly on the ground. The Indragarh Trivikrama has both the qualities. The diagonal composition adds into its dynamism but his right leg firmly planted on ground makes him more dignified than many of the other Northern images.

The third fragment which shows the details of the raised leg and Brahmā washing it, has been discussed above. It also shows a celestial, hanging upside down with folded hands. It can be Namuci, hurled in the sky by the thrust of the raised leg or Triśaṅku-hanging helplessly in the sky.

One more fragment, which is very important is of the head and massive torso, with some portions of hands, three of them intact with attributes. The head is with pointed chin and wide—open eyes. The mukuṭa is cylindrical and intricately carved showing Gupta features.

The interesting phenomenon of this fragment is, along with the hands showing mace and arrow being taken out of a quiver, the third hand is holding Vajra in it, which is an extremely rare depiction in Trivikrama images. Dr. Deepak Bhattacharya in his '*Iconography of composite images*'[13] describes an image of eight armed Viṣṇu prescribed by *Viṣṇudharmottara* named 'Aṣṭa-lokapāla Viṣṇu'. These images at least symbolically, are supposed to represent the eight Lokapālas and the attributes are *Kamaṇḍalu, Vajra*, Antelope skin, *Gadā* and *Daṇḍa*. Since five of the eight arms and the lower portion of the torso is missing, no further discussion is possible except suggesting the possibility that, to denote the all pervading character of Viṣṇu he would have been shown in the

13 Bhattacharya Deepak—*Iconology of Composite Images*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, pp. 46-47.

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form of Lokapāla. The fact, that we do come across a few Trivikrama images, particularly in Himalayan regions,[14] in which the striding God is shown in the form of Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu, does strengthen the above speculation. Such variations were probably to indicate the growing stature of our protagonist.

The Indragarh Trivikrama image proves to be very important in the evolution of Trivikrama sculpture due to several such interesting phenomena and hence deserves attention of scholars.

14 Vaikuṇṭha Trivikrama image from Chamba. Even the Lajimpat image shows traces of 3 heads.

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REVIEWS

Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana, critically edited with Introduction, Translation and Notes by K. KRISHNAMOORTHY, with a Foreword by K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR; published by MOTILAL BANARASIDAS, Delhi 110 007; Second Edition, 1982, Price : (paper) Rs. 50/-, pp. xLi + 407.

Ānandavardhana (9th century A.D.) enjoys a very impotant and enviable position amongst the Sanskrit rhetoricians and his *magnum opus Dhvanyāloka* a central position. It is a pleasure to welcome after about ten years, this second edition by K. Krishnamoorthy, who is a well-known scholar in the field of *Alaṁkāraśāstra* and literary criticism. The " present edition is substantially a reprint of the first edition published by the Karnatak University, Dharwar in 1974 ", writes Dr. Krishnamoorthy (Preface). In the present edition the editor gives " at the end an appendix of ' Additions and corrections ' which incorporates the revisions rendered necessary in the light of reviews " (Preface).

In the Introduction the following topics are discussed : (i) The Text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, (ii) Improved Readings in this (*i.e.* First) Edition, (iii) Title of the Text, (iv) *Dhvani* Theory After Ānandavardhana, (v) Ānandavardhana's Semantics, (vi) , *Rasa* ' in the ' *Dhvani* ' Theory '.

In the first edition Dr. Krishnamoorthy gave the critically edited text of the *Dhvanyāloka* for the first time on the basis of some fresh manuscripts not utilised by the earlier editors of the *Dhvanyāloka*. The Sanskrit original and the English translation, so arranged as to face each other, facilitate reading and reference. The " Text " and " Translation " in English are followed by useful " Notes " and Glossary of Technical terms and English equivalents " indices of " *Kārikās* and *Parikaraślokas* etc "., of " Quōtations " and " Authors " and " Works ". This is followed by " Errata ".

There is an appreciative foreword by Dr. K.R.S. Iyengar and the *variae lectiones* are noted in the footnotes.

As the present edition is a reprint of the first edition wherein an endeavour to give as definitive text as possible is made, there is nothing especially to comment, but to commend the learned editor and the publisher for bringing out this useful and nicely printed edition, the cover page of which has a design bringing out " Symbolically the everspreading waves of *Dhvani*—resonance as well as the blooming lotus—hearts of responsive readers of poetry by the sun-rise of *Dhvanyāloka* " (Preface) by Shri Suresh Kulakarni who deserves congratulations for such significant symbolic design. As the present edition is " mainly designed for the use of Indian University students who study it as a prescribed text ", (back

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cover page), one is tempted to suggest that if the captions of the various topics in the four chapters were given in the Sanskrit text as well as in the English translation, as is done by the late A.B. Gajendragadkar in his edition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* or by Satya Vrat Singh in his edition of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, it would have been more useful and facilitating to the Indian University students.

It is hoped that the present edition will find a useful place in the libraries of colleges, Universities and research institutes.

We congratulate the editor and the publisher for bringing out this edition with a nice get up and look forward for many more critical editions from the learned editor.

S. G. KANTAWALA*

Humanism in Vedas : (वेदो में मानववाद) by DILIP VEDALANKAR, published by AMAR BHARATI International, P.O. Box No. 212, Baroda-390 001 (India), Price: Rs. 75-00, £ 8.00, $ 18.00, 1982, pp. xxxii + 280.

It is a pleasure to welcome this book in Hindi—viz. वेदो में मानववाद ("*Humanism in Vedas*") which represents the Ph.D. thesis of Dilip Vedalankar approved by the Gurukul Kangri Vishvavidyalaya. The author is a renowned international missionary and exponent of Indian culture and Vedas and he has visited several countries during his missionary itinerary. During the course of his visit to England in 1969 he came across the book "Humanism in Bible" in one of the libraries in London (U.K.) and this led to the germination of an idea which resulted with the passage of time into the doctoral thesis of the Gurukul Kangri Vishvavidyalaya and now in the form of the present book. The author has presented the data enshrined in the ancient Vedic literature from the point of view of the modern concept *viz.* the philosophy of humanism and we heartily congratulate the author for it.

The author discusses his theme into seven chapters with sub-sections having sub-sections therein. The main seven chapters are (1) Introduction (2) Vedic Philosophy and Humanism (3) Vedic Religion and Humanism (4) Vedic Ethics and Humanism (5) Vedic Societal order and Humanism (6) Vedic Humanism and Government and (7) Different sciences, Arts and Crafts; Trade and Commerce in the Vedas and Humanism. The seventh chapter followed by the chapter; "Conclusions". The main body of the book is prefixed by the author's dedication of the book to his parents, the history of the march of this book from its conception to publication and the author's Preface. The chapter on "Conclusions" is followed by a bibliography.

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It is happy to note that the book is graced by a nice Foreword by Shri B. D. Jatti, the former Vice-President of India.

The treatment of the subject is lucid and the comparative evidence is focussed to assess the Vedic data. The presentation is lucid and the style is flowing and nicely readable. The author has documented his statements richly, wherever necessary in support of his views. With reference to the Vedic quotations one feels that they should have been given with their respective accents, as this book deals with the Vedic material. It would have been better if the entries in the bibliography dealing with secondary sources (pp. 273—276) were made alphabetically authorwise and not alphabetically bookwise as is done. At the end of the book one misses the index of words and authors cited, as is normally the case.

It is hoped that the present book will find a useful place in the libraries of the colleges, universities and research-institutes.

We congratulate very heartily the author for publishing the thesis with a neat printing and beautiful get-up at his own and look forward to have many more scholarly works from him in the years to come.

S. G. KANTAWALA*

A study of Tattvārthasūtra with Bhāṣya, with special reference to Authorship and Date: by SUZUKO OHIRA, published L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9 1982, pages, x + 182, Price : Rs. 48/-.

The work under review is a Ph.D. thesis, prepared under the guidance of Pandit Dalsukh Malavania and published in the L. D. series 86, under the general editorship of Dr. Dalsukh Malavania and Dr. Nagin Shah.

The *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra T.S.* is a very important and authentic manual of Jain philosophy and religious observance. It is to both the traditions of Svetambara and Digambara what the New Testament is to christians. It recapitulates the Jain Canonical doctrines in an orderly and compact manner. Mainly it deals with *Mokṣamārga* or the path of deliverance along with an exposition of seven *tattvas* the knowledge of which is essential for attaining right faith which facilitates the soul's journey towards the final spiritual end. It is written in the form of aphorisms in Sanskrit with auto commentary. Technically it is a *prakaraṇa*. :—

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Śāstraikadeśasaṁbaddham
Śāstrakāryāntare sthitam,
āhuḥ prakaraṇaṁ nāma
granthabhedaṁ vipaścitaḥ.

"*Prakaraṇa* is typical composition, enunciating some important tenet or a set of tenets of a *Śāstra*, designed to explicate and popularise the *Śāstra*".

In the Śvetāmbara tradition the *T.S.* contains 344 aphorisms and in that of the Digambaras it has 357 aphorisms. Opinion of scholars of Jainism is divided whether Vācaka Umāsvāti, the celebrated author of *T.S.* belonged to the Āgamic tradition of the Śvetāmbaras or to the independent Digambara tradition or to the earlier yāpanīya tradition which later was amalgamated to the Digambara tradition. The circumstance that different traditions cherished a sense of belonging to Umāsvāti, testifies to his uncommon popularity among all sections of the Jainas and his pervasive influence.

The composition of *T.S.* was a historical necessity. At the time of the third cononical convention held at Valabhi, Jainism experienced the traumatic dichotomy into two camps. The canonical age came to an end, giving rise to the age of commentaries which in its turn inspired the rise of the age of Jain dialectics. Upon these successive ages of literary evolution of Jainism, Umāsvāti exercised a moulding and enduring influence.

The author of the present study has focussed her attention especially to the widely disputed problems of the authorship of *T.S.* and the date of its composition as the subtitle indicates. But the critical evaluation of the contents of the *T.S.* and its historical position have also received adequate treatment.

In the first chapter the author poses the problem of the original version of the text and proceeds to tackle it sectionwise by comparing the codices of the two traditions, viz. Śvetāmbara and Digambara. After a close scrutiny of the differences in respect of arrangement of the *Sūtras* and their numbering (which is mostly found to be disorderly and spurious), it is found that still more valid evidence is needed to settle the problem satisfactorily. She, therefore, next takes up the discussion of two cases implicating doctrinal view-point, taking support of their elucidation in the commentaries and concludes that the text preserved in the Śvetāmbara tradition or the Western version is the original on which the Digambara tradition or the Southern version is based. This conclusion is duly supported by additional internal evidence viz. the literary idiosyncrasy of Umāsvāti.

The problem whether the *Bhāṣya* is also composed by Umāsvāti himself or not is taken up for discussion in the second chapter. The *Bhāṣya* contains positive hints about its author, and is of composite nature since it consists of *Sambandhakārikā* or introductory verse, *praśasti*, providing very valuable infor-

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mation about the author, apart from the commentary itself. Finding corroboration from the *Nandisūtrapaṭṭāvali* and the *Kalpa therāvali*, it is established that the *praśasti* which is a protean source of autobiographical information is an authentic document composed by Umāsvāti, proving thereby that the *T.S.* with *Svopajña Bhāṣya* was written by Vācaka Umāsvāti himself.

Since the *T.S.* is a work based on the *Āgamas* or canonical works, the author, in the third chapter, attempts to trace the source material and discusses the modality of its organisation. Umāsvāti derives the *mokṣamārga* from the *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* (*U.S.*), but feels himself free in restoring the right order and sequence of arguments and also in effecting necessary abbreviations. For instance he renders the quadruple *mokṣamārga* of *U.S.* a triple *mokṣamārga* by absorbing *tapas* in *caritrā*. Thus Umāsvāti gave the world the *triratna* of *Jñāna*, *Darśana* and *Cāritra*. He also reduced the nine *tattvas* of the *U.S.* to seven by merging *puṇya* and *pāpa* into *āsrava* and *bandha tattvas*.

The author next discusses the references to the *T.S.* in the later commentaries on Jain *Āgamas* up to the 10th century A.D. She then turns to some momentous philosophical problems like *Kevala jñāna* and *Darśana*, perceptibility of *skandhas*, types of meditation, *jeevasamāsas*, *mārgaṇāsthānas*. *guṇa sthānas* and the theory of *Karma*. It is duly pointed out that the Jain *Āgamas* lay special stress on *cāritra* in pursuing the path to deliverance.

On the basis of a thorough discussion of the internal and external evidences, it is established that Umāsvāti composed the *T.S.* in the middle of the 5th century A.D. at Pataliputra.

The compositiou of *T.S.* by Umāsvāti gave rise to a vast corpus of religious literature on Jainism, in the form of expository works and commentaries, ushering the age of Jain dialectical works. The *T.S.* thus occupies the central place in the conceptual development of the Jain thought.

The bibliography, the General index and the *Sūtra* index, appended to the present work, indeed, enhance its utility and value. The numerous typographical errors could have been avoided with little more care, but the subjoined errata may relieve the reader of the encumbrance created on this account.

The study is fairly thorough and objective. As such, it is a substantial contribution to Jainology and will prove to be very useful to the students of Indology in general and of Jainism in particular. The following observation of Prafullachandra with regard to the *T.S.*, is, therefore, significant :—

daśādhyāyaparicchinne tattvārthe paṭhite sati,
phalaṁ Syādupavāsasya bhāṣitaṁ mūnipuṅgavaiḥ.

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Hemeneutics and Language in Pūrva-mīmāṁsā, A Study in Śābara Bhāṣya : by OTHMAR GACHTER pub. by M/S Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, Varanasi, Patna 1983. Pages, I to X + 1 to 164. Price, Rs. 100/-.

According to Jaimini (500 B.C.), the author of Pūrvamīmāṁsā *Sūtras* and Śabara (500 A.D.), the first commentator on those aphorisms, the Vedas Spont the way to ever lasting happiness. The way consists of understanding the revelation and observance of ritualistic actions. Thus *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* Conceives of a concatenation of Truth or Reality, happiness, knowledge, understanding, language and the science of critical interpretation, technically called hermeneutics. Reality needs to be intellectually grasped bringing about a faultless understanding. Both understanding and consequent observance in ritual terms, give rise to *Dharma* of *ambient* nature, involving visible actions and invisible power, leading one along the way to unalloyed happiness, a state or locus called *svarga* knowledge, the object of understanding is embedded in formal language, that in turn, requires a regularised process of interpretation. In other words, *Śabda* expounds the structure of Reality and Dharma, which, in order to be precisely understood, involve language and the method of critical interpretation. The main thrust of Pūrvamimāṁsā, is not the exposition of Reality and discussion of related metaphysical problems, but the analysis of language, the source of validity of propositions, the paradigms of meaning, leading to a purposeful active way of living, so as to bring about fulfilment in life here and a beatific existence hereafter. Its approach, therefore, is realistic and represents the earlier phase of vedic thought which looked forwared to a life of plenty and enjoyment, to be realised with active cooperation of gods. The world-view of *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā* is, thus marked by realism and dynamism, both of course, of archaic nature.

In the first chapter of the work under review, the author states that the term 'hermeneutics' is borrowed from Western philosophy. It denotes not merely a methodical art of language and interpretation, but a theory of human experience involving thinking, understanding and even communication or thought-transmission. Though in the West there exists a vast literature on hermeneutics to which the work of H. G. Gadamer (*Wahrheit und Methode*, Grundzüge einer philosophischen Herme neutik, Auflage, Tühingen, 1965) is a recent but significant contribution, as it deals also with the basic tenets of philosophical hermeneutics; it is remarkable that the fundamental principles of hermeneutics were enunciated in *Purva-Mīmāṁsā*, especially in the commentary of Śaharācārya. It is to be borne in mind that whereas the Western approach to hermeneutics is mainly phenomenologically oriented, the traditional Indian approach is distinctly metaphysical inasmuch as it equates *śabda* with the non-dual absolute, which is conceived as the unaffected ground from which all differences, beginning with the difference of world and its corresponding object which is the same as its meaning (*Padārtha*), emanate.

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The fundamental problem with Śabara, in respect of hermeneutics, is the natural urge to know what is real, which having two aspects or dimensions of visible and the invisible, demands, apart from *pratyakṣa* or direct perception, the involvement of *śabda* = Veda as a valid means of knowledge so far as the invisible dimension of the ultimately real or existent is concerned. The visible sacrificial act is integrally related to the invisible *apūrva*, an unforeseen and unseen force, the deity and *svarga*. Both these visible and invisible dimentions of reality are referred to in language really, not ideally. Thus language cannot be a construction of mind, rather its source and points of reference suggest the transcendental. The structure of language, as a means of understanding the real in its totality, ranges beyond the limits of mind and sense-perception. This explains the *apauruṣeyatva* of the Veda or śabda and also suggests its eternity and self-validity. The veda, etymologically meaning knowledge, cannot be said to have been created at any point of time by any person, not even the Supreme Person, because for any one to create knowledge, its prior existence in him must logically be conceded to. In other words, the nature and structure of knowledge cannot be explicated in terms of temporality. Eternity of *śabda* maintained by śabarācārya, therefore, need not be conceived as an extension of time but as its transcendence. This is an important contribution of Indian thinkers to philosophical thought of the world. It is, therefore difficult to agree with the author when he states ; " His (Śabara's) statement, " no end and destruction of *śabda*" cannot be transformed into a mere projection into the future which connotes eternity in the sense of being without end....śabara is compelled to refer to *śabda* as being *nitya* on account of the experience of a continuous and consistent use of *śabda*" (p. 64). Śabara's argument in favour of *nityatva* of *śabda*, supported by his discussion of its characteristics, like *aikarūpya* or invariable uniformity and *niravayavatva* or impartite nature, has to be evaluated in the light of the observations made above. This explains why Śabara takes pain to point out the *apauruṣeya* character of the relation between *śabda* and its object, carrying its own validity being self-evident and of the very nature of cognition. Thus *codanā* or vedic injunction yields valid knowledge since it can never be contradicted.

Language, according to Śabara, is an operative system of symbols, which *Śabdas*, as signifying units. So to constitute, *Śabda*, as a signifying unit, speaks primordially, expresses truth—a sequence of word-object relationship through the instrumentality of human mechanism. In other words, reality as language makes itself known, it presents and is not re-presented by language. In fact language is the basis of the natural urge to know *Dharma*, it is the support of understanding what can be understood. The desire to know arises through tension of known and yet to be known. Hermeneutics becomes necessary when the object presented by *Śabda*, cannot be perceived, as shown. It is constitution

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of understanding because it resolves the tension between ignorance (or Misunderstanding) and the urge to know. An object falling in either visible or invisible category of reading, can be known through *Śabda* or *rūpa*. So far as invisible dimension of reality is concerned, the question of *rūpa* is ruled out. A *devatā* is invisible object by nature. In hermeneutical awareness the fusion of language and reality is pointed out by indicating the actual presence of *devatā* in its invisible nature. Hermeneutics does not render language as an objectifying or idealising tool, for that way it would interfere with the status of reality. It merely conveys the presence of the object as it is, visible or invisible.

The gamut of functions which language performs—presentation and communication of objects, comprising the whole of reality—is for the benefit of man. In Vedic tradition, language is conceived as a spirit, as the bellowing bull of fecundity, as a great deity descending in the sphere of mortals, perceived in heart by sages and sensitive poets, in its subtle and transcendent nature. The author has made all these subtle points abundantly clear using modern terminology and discussing them in great detail. He has adopted an objective approach meticulously adhearing to a consistent reference to the text of Śabara's commentary, thus contributing substantially to the existing literature on Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā.

The value of the work is increased by appending textual sources and glossary of Sanskrit Terms, together with a bibliography of primary sources and secondary literature and an index of general nature. The format and get-up of the book are fine and artistic, and it is relatively free from typographical errors. Both the author and the publisher deserve hearty congratulations of scholars and students of the subject.

R. T. VYAS*

Studies in Sanskrit Sāhityaśāstra by V. M. KULKARNI, Pub. by the Director Bhogilal Laherchand Institute of Indology, Kanasano Pado, Patan—384 265, pp. 200, Price : Rs. 60-00.

Much is written on Sanskrit Poetics and yet much remains unexplored. *Studies in Sāhityaśāstra* by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni explores an unexplored area of Sanskrit Poetics. Topics like *Arthaharaṇa*, *Kavisamaya*, *Kāku*, *Sandhis* are overshadowed by the problems of *Rasa*, *Rīti*, *Vṛtti* and have not received the attention they deserve. Dr. Kulkarni has systematically studied these topics and has fulfilled a long felt need. The book is a collection of sixteen papers on Poetics, accompanied by an appendix and addendum, and most of these papers have appeared in various journals and magazines.

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The first chapter is on 'Sanskrit writers on Plagiarism.' Borrowing varies from theme to word. It may be conscious or unconscious. Rājaśekhara's treatment of borrowing is discussed in this chapter, together with the views of Bhoja and Vāgbhaṭa II. Dr. Kulkarni rightly remarks that if the apparent Plagiarism is unconscious or unintended it ceases to be Plagiarism. Poetry is an outcome of a creative process. The poet cannot be blamed for Plagiarism if the impressions of the beautiful works of the past masters participate in this process. The second chapter, 'Sanskrit rhetoricians on Kavisamaya' treats various *Kavisamayas* and the author attempts to find out the origin of Poetic convention. The third chapter, 'the treatment of Intonation (Kāku) in Sanskrit Poetics' contains a detailed study of *Kāku*, its varieties, and the views of *Ālaṃkārikas* who treat *Kāku* either as a figure of word or of sense. In chapters four, five and six, the author has ably attempted to restore the text of *Abhinavabhāratī* on the basis of *Kāvyānuśāsana* and *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, *Kalpalatāviveka* and a comparison of *Kāvyānuśāsana* and *Kalpalatāviveka* respectively. These three chapters are valuable contributions of the author to the study of *Abhinavabhāratī* in particular and of poetics, in general. Chapter seven treats in details the *Sandhis* and the *Sandhyaṅgas*. The author tends to justify the *Sandhis* and *Sandhyaṅgas*. Though the *Sandhis* endow the plot with proportion and symmetry, the network of *Sandhyaṅgas* is alarming and leaves little scope of freedom for the dramatist. In chapter eight the author elucidates many points connected with the theory and practice of *Patakāsthānas*. Chapter nine clarifies Bhāmaha's views on the place of grammar in Poetry, and the clue taken by other *Ālaṃkārikas* on this point from the *Kāvyālaṃkāra*. In chapter ten Dr. Kulkarni interprets verses 5—10 of the fifth chapter of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṃkara* in the light of *Kalpalatāviveka* and clarifies Bhāmaha's hitherto obstruse views on *Pramāṇas*. Chapter eleven sheds light on the readings of *Bhāmahavivaraṇa*. In chapter twelve Dr. Kulkarni defends Kālidāsa against the critics who find *Paunaḥpunyena dīpanam* in *Rativilāpa* and who criticise *Devīsambhogavarṇana* in *Kumārasaṃbhava* for obscenity. Love and sex are freely described in Indian Arts and literature because Kāma is accepted as a Puruṣārtha. In chapter thirteen the author gives Hemacandra the credit of systematically arranging the text book of Alaṃkāra with due discrimination. Chapter fourteen contains the author's views on the Prākṛt verses profusely quoted as illustrations in Sanskrit works of Alaṃkāraśāstra The readings of the Prākṛt verses restored by the author render them more intelligible. In chapter fifteen the author has attempted to restore the text of *Harivijaya* on the basis of the illustrations cited by Bhoja in his *Śrṅgāra Prakāśa* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*. He gives a clear outline of *Harivijaya* and supplies valuable information about this lost Mahākāvya. Chapter sixteen contains a survey of the view of the Jaina authors on *Rasa*.

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The studies in Sāhityaśāstra reflects Dr. Kulkarni's depth of scholarship and clarity of thinking. His conclusions are based on careful comparisons, unbiassed examinations and sound reasoning, and his criticisms and appreciations of literary works, are balanced and full of *Sahṛdayatva*. Dr. Kulkarni is at his best in the papers on restoring the text of *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Harivijaya*. This book by its clarity of expression and lucidity will render valuable help to students of Sanskrit Poetics.

CHITRA SHUKLA*

Culture Course : Book V—by RAMAKRISHNAN and V. A. K. AYER. Mahalakshmi Temple Trust Series, Pub. by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-400007, Price : Rs. 9-50.

The book under review is a very good compilation of gems from our vast and invaluable cultural heritage.

As stated in the 'Preface' the series under which this book is published has been established to provide right mental and spiritual food and nourishment from infancy; to enable them to gradually learn, appreciate and absorb our tradition, history and culture.

Keeping in spirit with the secularism promulgated by our constitution, the present collection contains simple stories from ancient tradition of our culture together with those from the tradition of other religions viz. Zoroastrianism, Islam and Sikhism and also the interesting descriptions of Sāñci, Ajanta and Ellora. It also contains the descriptions of the celebrations of Easter and Ramzan Id.

In all 17 lessons are given in this book.

The language of the lessons is quite simple and lucid, easily comprehensible by the children for whom the book is meant.

But there are certain glaring discrepancies in the narration regarding some details of the stories. On p. 7 Jaṭāyu is said to be an eagle, whereas according to the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, Jaṭāyu was not an eagle but a vulture. The other details, therefore, like Vinatā being the mother of Jaṭāyu become naturally faulty.

Similarly on p. 9 Arjuna is described as taking leave of his brothers, mother Kuntī, and wife Draupadī before going to the Himalayas for the penances to get the Pāśupata Astra. According to the Mahābhārata Kuntī, the mother of the Pāṇḍavas did not accompany her sons to the forests, she was at Hastināpura. So the question of taking the leave of the mother does not arise at all.

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In lesson no. 12 on Narasi Mehta there is the description only about the incident of Hundi.

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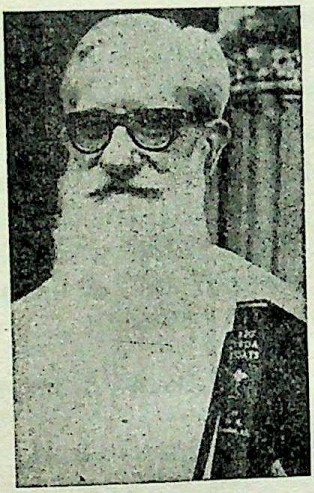
OBITUARY

Fr. Adolf Esteller :

The scholastic world in general and that of Sanskrit in particular became poorer with the sad demise of Rev. Fr. Adolf Esteller in Bombay on Sunday, 18th March 1984.

Father A. Esteller was not only Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit at St. Xavier's College Bombay but a profound research scholar and a great Orientalist.



He came to India in 1922 with the early batch of Spanish Jesuits and started teaching at the schools in Bombay. He dedicated himself to the study of Sanskrit and allied languages before and after his priesthood and was chosen as the successor to Fr. Zimmerman in the Sanskrit Department of St. Xavier's College. He studied privately and then at Berlin University for 6 years and obtained his M.A. and D. Phil by writing a thesis on *Die alteste Rezen'Sion des Mahānāṭakam* which was published in Germany. He was the Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit till his retirement. He was the Director of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture and was associated with various Universities, Learned Bodies and Institutions and was the Vice-Chairman of K.R. Cama Oriental Institute. He opted for Indian Citizenship and as a missionary worked zealously for the Indianisation of Christianity which he exemplified through personal conduct.

A great admirer of Vedas and being active and alert till his last days he used to sit cross-legged on the floor with volumes around for hours together working on the problems of the " Faulty " verses of the *Ṛgveda*. He had written and published a number of research articles and read as many in the presence of great Sanskrit and Vedic scholars at the numerous All India Oriental Conferences. He was of the opinion that the later days grammatical rules superimposed the original pronunciation and rhythm of the verses of *Ṛgveda* and came to the conclusion that the original pronunciation and rhythm of the verses could be reconstructed by unravelling the Vedic accent whose metrical value has been so far overlooked by the Scholars. He wanted to prepare a critical edition of this type of the *Ṛgveda* text. His latest article on " A case of *Ṛgveda—Saṁhitā* " Palimpsesting " in connection with " *raudasi* " in the *Journal of University of*

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Bombay bears ample proof of his research on the subject. His theory invited great debates amongst and from the scholars nevertheless his zeal and impact on the studies of the Vedas can never be underestimated.

Apart from being a great scholar and teacher he was a great friend of the students whom he used to remember by faces and names and was available to them at any time for the solution of any type of problem whether of studies or otherwise.

He had great love for God and so was for people and his country India where he spent almost whole of his life spreading its cultural and spiritual values.

I had the privilege of being his student and will ever remain indebted to him for his paternal care and personal interest that he took in me and my family. Many will agree with me that he was full of zest, energy, always kind and loving. He had varied interest and was equally at home with other subjects than Sanskrit like theology, music, sports etc.

Rev. Father John Correia-Afonso S.J. once said that " Fr. Esteller is not old (AT 80)—its just that he has been young a very long time." Indeed it may well be said that Fr. Esteller is not dead, he has just been living through his numerous articles, publications, dedicated service to humanity and last but not the least his paternal love for the Sanskrit, its studies and its students.

JASHWANTI DAVE*

* Department of Sanskrit, S.N.D.T. Women's University, Bombay-400 020.

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जयराम कृतः

महावाक्यादर्शः

"उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः[1]" इति भगवद्वचनान्निर्णीतम्। तस्मादीश्वर-कारणवादे दूषणविस्तरस्तु "पत्युरसामञ्जस्यात्[2]" इत्यधिकरणे भाष्यकारैरेव कृत इति नास्माभिः प्रपञ्च्यते। तस्मात्साक्षिचैतन्यमेव जगत्कारणम्। तत्कारणञ्चोपादानत्वे सति कर्तृत्वम् उभय-विधश्रुत्यनुरोधात्। उपादानविषयिणी श्रुतिः—"बहु स्यां प्रजायेय[3]" इति। कर्तृत्वविषयिणी तावत् "स इक्षांच (ईक्षां च) क्रे..., स प्राणमसृजत[4]" इति। तस्मादुभयकारणानुरोधात्साक्षि-चैतन्यमेव जगदाकारेण विवर्त्तते। तत्रेयं प्रकियाः—सुषुप्तावविद्याविशिष्टसाक्षिचैतन्ये बीजाव-स्थायां वृक्ष इव जगद्वर्त्तते। ततः प्राणिकर्मवशात्स्वप्नावस्थायामङ्कुरावस्थायां वृक्ष इव जगत्सूक्ष्मं

MAHĀVĀKYĀDARŚA OF JAYARĀMA

(English Translation)

This is decided by the statement of the Lord (Kṛṣṇa). "The Supreme Person called *paramātmā* is different, (Bh.G. 15.17). A detailed exposition of fallacies in the doctrine of the causation of God is made by the commentator (Śaṅkara) in the section : "The Lord (can not be the cause of the world) on account of inappropriateness " (B.S. II. 2.37).[1] It is, therefore, not propounded by us. The witnessing consciousness is, therefore, the cause of the world. Its

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१ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता, १५.१७ — २ ब्रह्मसूत्रम्, २.२.३७

३ छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्, ६.२.३ तैत्तिरीय उपनिषद्, २. — ४ प्रश्नोपनिषद्, ६.३-४

1 The author of "Mahāvākyādarśa" is of the opinion that since the witnessing consciousness is the cause of the world, God cannot be said to be the cause of the world. He quotes the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 2.37 in support of his position. The *Sūtra* reads:—"The Lord (cannot be the cause of the world), because of inappropriatenest (of the doctrine)." It should, however, he noted that in his commentary Śaṅkarācārya interprets the *Sūtra*, unlike the author of the present work, to yield the doctrine of causation of the Lord, with regard to the world, being both the material and efficient cause of the world. Śaṅkara, therefore, interprets the present *Sūtra* and the following *Sūtras* of the section upto *Sūtra*-45, that the Lord is not merely the operative cause of the world, as maintained by the followers of the (later) *Sāṁkya*, *Yoga*, *Paśupatamata*, *Vaiśesikas* and *Bhāgavatas*, but is both operative as well as the material cause of the world. This, according to Śaṅkara, is established by *Brahmasūtra*, I.II.2 which reads : (" Brahman is that) from which the origin etc. (i.e. origin, subsistence and dissolution) of this (world proceed "). This apparent contradiction between the positions of Śaṅkara and Jayarāma disappears when we learn that the latter calls the witnessing consciousness as the Self which is identical with *Brahman* and as such endowed with all the divine powers.

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वर्त्तते। ततः प्राणिकर्मवशाज्जाग्रदवस्थायां पुष्पफलावस्थायां वृक्ष इव जगत्स्थूलतरं वर्त्तते। एवं यथा स्वप्नसुषुप्त्योः स्थूलशरीरं लीयते तथा स्थूलं जगदपि लीयते।

ननु स्वप्नावस्थायां सुषुप्तौ वा स्थूलशरीरं स्थूलप्रपञ्चश्च लीय (ये)ते तत्र किं प्रमाणम्। गृहैकदेशे पर्यङ्के स्थूलशरीरस्य विद्यमानत्वात्। तथा प्रपञ्चोऽपि सर्वैरनुभूयते। यथा कश्चित्पुरुषः काशी (शीं)त्यक्त्वा प्रयागे (गं) गतस्तदानी (नीं) काशीवद् विद्यमान एव स्थूलदेहादिप्रपञ्चो भवति। स चावस्थान्तरप्राप्तत्वात्प्रपञ्चं न पश्यति, यथा ग्रामान्तरगतो ग्रामात (मान्त)रं न पश्यति तद्वत्। तथा सुषुप्तौ सर्वविषयज्ञानाभावेऽपि प्रपञ्चो विद्यत एव। तदाऽऽत्ममनःसंयोगाभावान्न प्रतीयते। यथा स्फटिकजपाकुसुमसंयोगदशायां स्फटिके लो (लौ) हित्यं प्रतीयते। तद्वियोगदशायां लो (लौ) हित्यं न प्रतीयते। तथापि जपाकुसुमनिष्टं (ष्ठं) वास्तवं लो (लौ) हित्यं भवत्येव। यथा वा पटनिष्टं (ष्ठं) रूपादि चक्षुष्मता

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causality is by way of agency as well as being the materlal cause, for the scripture supports both. The scripture about the material cause reads : "May I be many, may I propagate", (Ch.U. VI. 2.3). That about agency reads : "He thought...., He created vital breath" (Pr. Up. VI. 3-4). Because of its causation of both the types, the witnessing consciousness alone manifests illusorily (appears) in the form of the world. This is the process in this regard : In the state of deep sleep the world exists in the witnessing consciousness, conditioned by nescience, like a tree in the state of seed. Then, in the state of dream, due to the deserts of the souls, the world is subtle, like the tree in the state of sprout. Then, in the state of waking, due to the deserts of the souls, the world is gross, like the tree in the state of flowering and fruition. Thus, as in the states of dream and dreamless sleep, the gross body merges, similarly the gross world too merges.

What is, indeed, the evidence (for your statement) that the gross body and the gross world merge in the state of dream or that of deep sleep ? Because the gross body exists on a bed in a corner of house. Similarly the world is also experienced by all. As, when a person leaves Kāsī for Prayāga, Kāśī does exist ; similarly, like Kāśī the gross world including the body etc. really exists. Because he is in another state (of dream), he does not see the world. As a person who has reached another village, does not see the other village ; similar is the case here. Thus, in the state of deep sleep, though the knowledge of all objects is absent, the world does exist. At that time, because of the absence of the nexus of the self and mind, (it is) not seen. As in the state of conjunction of a crystal and the China-rose, redness in the crystal is seen. In the state of their disjunction redness is not seen. Still, however, the real redness in the China-rose does exist; or, as the form etc. inhering in the cloth, are seen by a person with clear eyes, not by another who is blind. Similarly the really existent

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दृश्यते नान्येनांधेन तद्वद्विद्यमानमेव जगदात्ममनःसंयोगात्प्रतीयते, तदभावे न प्रतीयते, तस्मात्सर्वथा सत्य एव प्रपञ्च इति वदन्ति ते प्रष्टव्याः—किं स्वप्नावस्थायां स्थूलं जगद्भवतीत्युक्तं तत्र किं प्रमाणम्। प्रत्यक्षमनुमानमागमो वा। न तावत्प्रत्यक्षं संभवति। वर्षायां मध्यरात्रे सुप्तस्य पुरुषस्य प्रचंडातपवन्निदाघविशिष्टमध्याह्नप्रत्यक्षं न स्यात (त्त)दानीं तस्याभावात्। न च तदानीं निदाघविशिष्टमध्याह्नः पूर्वद्रष्टः स्मर्यत इति वाच्यम्। तथा सति पश्यामीति प्रतीतिर्न स्यात्। अन्यच्च, मृदुशय्यायां सुप्तस्य स्वप्ने व्याघ्रदर्शनादुत्पन्नभयस्य कम्पादिकं जायते, तस्यानुवृत्तिरुत्थानेऽपि दृश्यते सा न स्यात्। त्वन्मते मृदुशय्यास्त्रीस्पर्शादिजन्य-सुखस्य विद्यमानत्वात्। न चानुमानात् ज्ञायते एव, शय्याग्र(गृ)हादिकं स्वप्नावस्थायामज्ञातं भवति, इदानीं ज्ञातत्वादिति वाच्यम्। एवं सति धारावाहिकज्ञाने व्यभिचारस्तत्र ज्ञातस्यैव ज्ञापकत्वात्। न चेदानीमेव ज्ञातत्वं हेतुरिति वाच्यम्। तथा सत्यन्योन्याश्रयात्कार्यकारणभावो न सिद्ध्ये(द्ध्ये)त। तथा हि—स्वप्नावस्थायामज्ञातत्वं प्रति इदानीमेव ज्ञातत्वं हेतुरिदानीमेव ज्ञातत्वं प्रति स्वप्नावस्थायामज्ञातत्वं हेतुरित्यन्योन्याश्रयत्वदोषः। न च "प्राणेन रक्षन्नपरं[5] कुलायं बहिःकुलायादमृतश्चरित्वा[6]" इति श्रुतिः प्रमाणमिति वाच्यम्। इयं श्रुतिः जाग्रदवस्थावतस्त-त्पार्श्वस्थस्यान्यपुरुषस्य विषया। यथा रज्जौ(ज्जौ) सर्पदर्शनानन्तरं पश्चाद्रज्जुसाक्षात्कारेण सर्पभ्रमनिवृत्तौ रज्जुदर्शने जाते तत्पार्श्वस्थस्यान्यपुरुषस्य सर्पदर्शनदशायां रज्जुसाक्षात्का-रवान् वदति एतस्मान्न भेतव्यमय(यं) मृतः सर्पः (मियं रज्जुरेव) शेते। तथा श्रुतिरपि जाग्र-

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world is seen through the conjunction of the self and mind, and not seen in its absence. The world is, therefore, in all states, real. Those who argue in this manner should be questioned : What is the evidence (in support) of your statement that the gross world exists during the state of dream ? Whether it is perception, inference or the scripture ? First of all, perception is impossible. A person sleeping at midnight in the rainy season, cannot have the perception of noon, characterised by excessive heat in summer due to fierce solar rays (in dream) because it is absent at that time. Nor can you urge that the noon characterised by exceeding heat, perceived earlier, is recalled. In that case, the cognition in the form of "I see it" cannot arise. Moreover, in a person sleeping in cosy bed, there can neither arise shudder etc. due to fear of seeing a tiger in dream, nor can the continuation of that (shudder) be seen, even after (his) waking. For, in your opinion, the happiness arising out of the touch of cosy bed and woman exists. Nor should you say it is, indeed, known through inference (of the form of) : the bed, house etc. are not known in the state of dream, (but they did exist then) because of their being known now (in the state of waking).

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५ "अवरम्" इति काण्वशाखापाठः।

६ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४.३.१२

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त्पुरुषं वदति–इदं (मं) शरीरमिदानीमात्मा प्राणेन रक्षन् स्वयं त्यक्तवान् इति। अन्यथा "बहिःकुलायादमृतश्चरित्वे"ति श्रुत्यनुरोधादात्मनः शरीराद्बहिरपि स्थितिप्रसंगात्। न चेष्टापत्तिरिति वाच्यम्। तथा सति "तमुत्क्रामन्तं प्राणोऽनु (नू) त्क्रामति, प्राणमनूत्क्रामन्तँ सर्वे प्राणा अनूत्क्राम[७]न्ति" इति श्रुत्यनुरोधात् प्राणस्यापि निर्गमनप्रसङ्गात्। न चेयं श्रुतिर्न स्वप्नविषया किन्तु मरणविषयेति वाच्यम्। तथा सति "अस्य लोकस्य सर्व्वावतो मात्रामपादाय स्वयं विहत्य स्वयं निर्माय स्वेन भासा स्वेन ज्योतिषा प्रस्वपित्यत्रायं स्वयंज्योति[८]र्भवति" इति श्रुत्या शरीरस्य तु लय एवोक्तत्वात्। तस्मात्प्रमाणाभावान्नास्त्येव स्वप्नावस्थायां जाग्रत्प्रपञ्च इति स्थितम्। एवं सुषुप्तावपि नास्त्येव स्थूलसूक्ष्मोभयविधः प्रपञ्चः। न च तदानीमात्ममनःसंयोगाभावान्न प्रतीयत इति वाच्यम्। अत्रापीयमेव पूर्वोक्ता युक्तिरनुसंधेया। तदानीमपि मनः प्रपञ्चेन सहात्मन्येव लीयते। तथा च श्रुतिः—"यदा सुप्तः स्वप्नं न कि(क)ञ्चन पश्यति। अथास्मिन्प्राण एवैकधा भवति। तदे(दै)नं वाक् सर्वनामभिः सहाप्येति, चक्षुः सर्वै रूपैः सहाप्येति, श्रोत्रं सर्वैः शब्दैः सहाप्येति, मनः सर्वैर्ध्यानैः सहाप्येति। स यदा प्रतिबुध्यते। यथाग्नेर्ज्वलतः सर्वा दिशो विस्फुलिङ्गा विप्रतिष्ठेरन्नेवमेवैतस्मादात्मनः सर्वे प्राणा यथायतनं प्रति[९]पद्यन्ते, प्राणेभ्यो देवा, देवेभ्यो लोकाः[१०]" इति। "यद्वै तंन (तन्न) पश्यति पश्यन् वै

In that case there will be violation of the rule with regard to the cognition as continuous stream,[2] for in continuous-stream-cognition a known thing becomes instrumental in making other objects known. Nor can it be urged that the fact of being known only now (i.e. on waking) is the cause, because in that case the relation of cause and effect will not be established, because of their mutual dependence. To explain : the fact of being known only now will be the cause of the fact of not being known in the dream state, and the latter will be the cause of the former, thus giving rise to the fault of mutual dependence. Nor can the scriptural statement : "Guarding the lower nest with the vital

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७ तत्रैव, ४. ४. २

८ तत्रैव, ४. ३. ९

९ "विप्रतिष्ठन्ते" इति पाठान्तरम्।

१० कौषीतक्युपनिषद्, ३. ३

2 The point to be made is that the non-cognition of objects of the waking state, during dream-state is cuased by the fact that the objects experienced in both the states cannot be related as cause and effect. During the waking state, one experiences a series of similar cognitions, which can be related as cause and effect. In fact, Buddhism believes in a causal concatenation of cognitions, like an unbroken stream, where one cognition becomes the cause for another similar cognition to arise. But the cognitions of waking and dream states cannot be causally related, nor non-cognition or cognition in one state be said to give rise to a cognition in another state.

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तद् द्रष्ट[11]व्यं न पश्यति । न हि द्रष्टुर्दृष्टेर्विपरिलोपो विद्यतेऽविनाशित्वात् । न तु तद्द्वितीयमस्ति ततोऽन्यद्विभक्तं यत् [12]पश्येत्" इत्यादिश्रुतिभिः सुषुप्तावात्मनि प्रपञ्चस्य लय(स्य)-एवोक्तत्वात् ।

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breath, the immortal one moves out of the nest" (Bṛ. up. IV. 3.12) be cited as evidence (of the co-existence of objects of the states of dream and waking), because this verbal testimony speaks about (an observation made by) a person who is awake (describing the condition) of another person (who dreams) by his side. As a person having the (right) perception of a rope, after a (false) perception of snake and thus having removed the illusory perception of snake, tells another person by his side who is in (an illusory) state of perception of snake : " have no fear from this; this is merely a rope lying here ". Similarly the scripture also tells a person who is awake : " The self, guarding this body with the vital breath, has himself left it ". Otherwise, on the strength of the scriptural statement : " The immortal, having moved out of the nest " (Bṛ. Up. IV 3.12), there will arise the contingency of the existence of the self outside the body. Nor can it be urged that it (the said contingency) is desirable (acceptable). For in that case, on the basis of the scripture : " And when he thus departs, the vital-breath departs after him. And when the vital-breath departs, all the senses depart after him" (Bṛ. Up. IV. 4.2), there will arise the occasion of the departure of the vital breath (life). Nor can it be said that this scriptural statement is not about the state of dream, but is about (that of) death. In that case by the (following) scriptural statement the merger of the body stated (in the state of sleep will be falsified) : " When he goes to sleep, he takes along the material of this all-embracing world, himself tears it apart, himself builds it up, he sleeps (dreams) by his own brightness, by his own light. In that state, this person becomes self-illuminated ", (Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.9). Therefore, because of the lack of evidence it is established that there is no existence of the world of waking during the state of dream. Similarly, during the state of deep sleep, both the gross and subtle worlds do not exist. Nor can it be urged that it (the word) is not seen because of the absence of the conjunction of the self and mind, for in this regard too, the aforesaid argument should be employed. At that time (of deep sleep) too, the mind, together with the world merges in the self. Moreover there are scriptural statements (to that effect) : " When asleep, he does not see any dream. Then, in him, the vital-breath gets united. Then, in him, the speech, together with all names, merges; the eye, together with all forms merges; the ear, together with all words, merges; the mind, togehter with all thoughts, merges.

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११ काण्वशाखायां " द्रष्टव्यम् " इति पदं न पठ्यते ।

१२ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४. ३. २३

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ननु प्रपञ्चस्य लयो न जीवे भवितुं युक्तो, नापि जीवादुत्पत्तिरपि । श्रुतौ परमात्मन उत्पत्तिः(त्तेः) परमात्मन्येव लयः (यस्य) श्रवणात् । तथा च श्रुतिः— " सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयम् " इत्यारभ्य " तदैक्षत बहु स्यां प्रजायेयेति, तत्तेजोऽसृजत । तत्तेजो (ज) ऐक्षत । तदपोऽसृजत । ता आप ऐक्षन्त । ता अन्नमसृ[13]जन्त " इत्यादि सृष्टिमुक्त्वा —" तेजोमु(मू)लमन्विच्छ (च्छ) । तेजसा सोम्य शुङ्गेन सन्मूलमन्विच्छ (च्छ) । सन्मूलाः सोम्येमाः सर्वाः प्रजाः सदायतनाः । सत्प्रतिष्ठाः... । वाङ्मनसि सम्पद्यते, मनः प्राणे, प्राणस्तेजसि, तेजः परस्यां देवता[14]याम् " इत्यन्तेन प्रपाठकेन सदाख्यपरमात्मन्येवोत्पत्तिलयः (य) श्रवणात् । यदि प्रपञ्चः सुषुप्तेरुत्पद्यते सुषुप्तावेव लीयते चेत्तर्हि सुषुप्त्यवस्थाविशिष्टजीवादेवोत्पद्यते जीवे च लीयत इति प्राप्तम् । तस्मादियं श्रुतिरन्यथा व्याख्यातव्या ।

When he awakes, as from blazing fire, sparks proceed in all directions, even so from this self all the vital breaths proceed to their respective locations; from the vital-breaths the deities (proceed), from the deities, the worlds (proceed). " Kauṣ-Up. (III. 3).

" Verily, when there (in the state of deep sleep) he does not see, he is, indeed, seeing, though he does not see, for there is no cessation of seeing of the Seer, because of (his) imperishability. There is, however, not a second, nothing apart from him that he could see ", (Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.23).

By these and other similar scriptural statements, the merger of the world in the self, during the state of deep sleep, is declared.

But it is not proper (to maintain) that the world merges in the (individual) soul, nor also that (it) emerges from him. Because from the scriptures, the emergence and the merger (of the world) from the Supreme Self are heard. Here are the scriptural statements :—" In the beginning, my dear, this (world) was Being alone, one only without a second ". (Ch. Up. VI. 2.1). Having begun thus it continues : " It thought, may I become many, may I propagate. It created fire. That fire thought...., it created waters. Those waters thought ....they created food " (Ch. Up. VI. 2.3-4). Having thus stated the creation, it continues : " Seek for fire as the root (cause); with fire, my dear, as an offshoot, seek for Being as the root (cause). All these creatures, my dear, have their root in Being. They have Being as their abode, Being as their support .. (when a person departs from this world, his) speech merges in mind, the mind in vital breath, the vital breath in fire, the fire in the highest divinity " (Ch. Up. VI. 8.6). By the section, ending thus, the scripture declares the creation (of the world) from the Supreme Self and its dissolution in him alone, designated as

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१३ छान्दोग्य उपनिषद्, ६. २. १–४

१४ तत्रैव. ६, ८. ६

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परमात्मकारणप्रतिपादकप्रबलश्रुतिविरोधादिति वदन्ति । तन्न । छान्दोग्येऽष्टमप्रपाठकेऽवस्थात्रयविनिर्मुक्तस्यैव परमात्मत्वप्रतिपादनात् । तथा हि—पूर्वमिन्द्रः परोक्षत्वेन "य आत्माऽपहतपाप्मा विजरो विमृत्युर्विशोको विजिगत्सो(घत्सो)ऽपिपासः सत्यकामः सत्यसङ्कल्पः सोऽन्वेष्टव्यः स विजिज्ञासितव्यः । स सर्वाँश्च लोकानाप्नोति सर्वांश्च (र्वाँश्च) कामान् यस्तमात्मानमनुविद्य विजानातीति ह प्रजापतिरुवा[१५]च" इत्यादि प्रजापतिवाक्यमाकर्ण्यापरोक्षार्थं प्रजापतिसमीपे गतवान् । तत्र प्रजापतिना "य एषोऽक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यते एष आत्मेति होवाचैतदमृतमभयमेतद् ब्रह्म[१६]" इति वाक्येनोपदिष्टः । तत्रेन्द्रेण जाग्रदवस्थाविशिष्टे स्थूलदेहाभिमानिनि—"अथ हेन्द्रोऽप्राप्यैव देवानेतद्भयं ददर्श—यथैव खल्वयमस्मिंछ(ञ्छ)रीरे साध्वलङ्कृते साध्वलङ्कृतो भवति" इति बहुदोषान् द्रष्ट्वा—"नाहमत्र भोग्यं पश्यामि" इत्यादिना परावृत्य पृष्टः सन् प्रजापतिराह—"एतं त्वेव ते भूयोऽनुव्याख्यास्यामि" इति वाक्येन । "य एष स्वप्ने महीयमानश्चरति एष आत्मेति होवाचैतदमृतमभयमेतद् ब्रह्मेति" तस्यैवावस्थान्तरेणोक्तवान् । पुनरपि "नाहमत्र भोग्यं पश्यामि" इत्यादिना स्वप्नावस्थायां बहुदोषदर्शनेन पृष्टः प्रजापतिराह "एतं त्वेव ते भूयोऽनुव्याख्यास्यामि(मी)" त्यादिना वाक्येन । "तद्यत्रैतत्सुप्तः संप्रसंनः(सन्नः)

Being. If (it is maintained that) the world emerges from the state of deep sleep and merges therein alone; it is tantamount to saying that it emerges from and merges in the (individual) soul, characterised by the state of deep sleep. This scriptural statement, therefore, should be explained differently, because it contradicts those powerful revelations that establish the Supreme Self as the cause (of the world). To those who argue in this manner, we rejoin : No, because in the eighth chapter of the *Chāndogya* the soul freed from the three states (of waking, dream and deep sleep) is declared to be the highest Self. To explain: earlier Indra having obtained mediate knowledge of the Self, on learning the statement of Prajāpati : "The Self that is free from evil, free from old age, free from death, free from grief, free from hunger and thirst, whose desire is real, whose thought is true, he should be sought, him one should desire to understand. He who has found out and who understands that Self obtaines all worlds and all desires. Thus spoke Prajāpati" (Ch. Up. VIII. 1), and desirous for the immediate experience (of the Self), approached Prajāpati. Prajāpati, then, instructed him with the statement : "'The person that is seen in the eye, that is the Self', said he. "That is the immortal, the fearless. That is Brahman". (Ch. Up. VIII. 7.4). With regard to that (Self) who is characterised by the state of waking and who identifies himself with the gross body, Indra saw many faults in the following manner : "Indra, before reaching the gods saw this

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१५ तत्रैव, ८. ७. १

१६ तत्रैव, ८. ७. ४

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स्वप्नं न विजानाति एष आत्मेति होवाचैतदमृतमभयमेतद् ब्रह्मेति " वाक्येन सुषुप्त्यवस्थाविशिष्टः स एवोक्तः । पुनरपि तत्र दोषदर्शनेन पृष्टः प्रजापतिराह " एतं त्वेव ते भूयोऽनुव्याख्यामी " त्यादिना । " मघवन् मर्त्यं वा इदँ शरीरमात्त(त्तं) मृत्युना । तदस्यामृतस्याशरीरस्यात्मनोऽधिष्ठानम् । आत्तो वै सशरीरः प्रियाप्रियाभ्याम् । न वै सशरीरस्य सतः प्रियाप्रिययोरपहतिरस्ति । अशरीरं वाव सन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशतः । अशरीरो वायुः । अभ्रं विद्युत् स्तनयित्नुरशरीराण्येतानि । तद्यथैतान्यमुष्मादाकाशात् समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरुपसम्पद्य स्वेन स्वेन[१७] रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यन्ते । एवमेवैष संप्रसादोऽस्माच्छ(च्छ)रीरात्समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते । स उत्तमः पुरुषः[१८] " इत्यादिनोपदिष्टः । तत्र यदि इन्द्रेणापहतपाप्मादि

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danger. As this (bodily) self is well-adorned when this body is well-adorned ", etc. Having seen many faults in this manner, Indra returned, thinking : " I see no good in this ". Prajāpati, questioned (further by Indra), said : " However, I will explain this further to you ". (Prajāpati then) said about the same self, with regard to another state : " He who moves about happily in a dream, he is the self, said he, he is the immortal, the fearless. He is Brahman ". And again on Indra's questioning, after having seen many faults in the state of dream, (saying) : " I see no good in this ", Prajāpati said : " I will, however, explain this further to you ". (By Prajāpati then) he alone (the same self) characterised by the state of deep sleep, is (further) explained : " When, he is asleep, serene, and knows no dream, that is the self, said he, that is immortal, the fearless. That is Brahman ". Once again, questioned (by Indra) having seen faults, Prajāpati said : " I will, however, explain this further to you ". He (Indra, then) was instructed : " O Maghavan, mortal, indeed, is this body. It is held by death. But it is the support of that deathless, bodiless Self. Verily, the incarnate self is held by pleasure and pain. Indeed, there is no freedom from pleasure and pain for one who is incarnate. Verily, pleasure and pain do not touch one who is bodiless. Bodiless is air, clouds, lightning, thunder, these are bodiless. Now as these, when they arise from yonder space and reach the highest light, appear each with their own form (nature). Even so this serene (Self) when he rises up from this body and reaches the highest light, appears in his own form (nature). This is the Supreme Person ", (Ch. Up. VIII. 12.1-3). Had Indra asked about the Supreme Self, qualified by the attributes like " free from evil ", etc. and had Prajāpati instructed (him) about the soul characterised by the states of waking and others, Prajāpati would, then, be a deceiver. And the sentence : " This is immortal, fearless, this is Brahman " would be incon-

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१७ " स्वेन " इति पुनरुक्तिः छान्दोग्योपनिषदि (८. १२. २.) न पठ्यते ।

१८ छान्दोग्योपनिषद् , ८. १२. ३ " स उत्तमपुरुषः " इति पठति ।

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विशेषणविशिष्टः परमात्मा पृष्टः, प्रजापतिना(च) जाग्रदाद्यवस्थाविशिष्टो जीव उपदिष्टः स्यात्तदा प्रजापतेः प्रतारकत्वप्रसङ्गात् । " एतदमृतमभयमेतद् ब्रह्मे "ति वाक्यमप्यसंलग्नं स्यात् । न च प्रजापतिना जीवात्मन एवोपदेशः कृतो न परमात्मन इत्यपि वाच्यम् । तथा सति " य एषोऽक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यत, एष आत्मेति होवाचैतदमृतमभयमेतद्ब्रह्मे "तिवाक्येऽक्षिणि पुरुष इत्यस्यैव सामानाधिकरण्येनामृताभयब्रह्मेत्युक्तिर्वृथा स्यात् ।

ननु नास्त्येव जीवात्मोपदेशः किन्तु परमात्मोपदेश एवामृताभयब्रह्मेति विशेषणात् । " य एषोऽक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यत " इत्यपि वाक्येन परमात्मैवोक्तोऽन्तर्यामित्वेन जाग्रदवस्थाप्रकाशकत्वादिति चेन्न । तथा सति अवस्थान्तरत्वेन " स्वप्ने महीयमानश्चरति, " पुनरप्यवस्थान्तरत्वेन " तद्यत्रैतत्सुप्तः संप्रसंन्नः(सन्नः) स्वप्नं न विजानाति " इत्याद्यवस्थाविशिष्टवत्त्वोपदेशो वृथा स्यात् । जाग्रदाद्यवस्थासु दोषे चोक्ते पुनरप्यवस्थान्तरे " एतं त्वेव ते भूयोऽनुव्याख्यास्यामि " इत्यादिवाक्येन तस्यैवावस्थान्तरत्वोक्तत्वात् । अन्यथा " एतं त्वेव ते भूय " इति वाक्यं व्याहन्येत । न च तत्तदवस्थाप्रकाश(क)त्वेनान्तर्याम्येवोक्तः । " य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्ना-

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sistent. Nor can you urge that Prajāpati instructed about the soul and not about the highest Person,because in that case in the sentence : " The person seen in the eye, he is the self, said he; this is immortal, fearless, this is Brahman ", and the statement : " immortal, fearless Brahman " in apposition with " the person seen in the eye " would be meaningless.

If you argue that this is, indeed, not an instruction regarding the soul but the highest Self, because of the attributes : " immortal, fearless Brahman ", and by the sentence ; " the person seen in the eye " also the highest Self is said in his capacity as the inner-controller, being the illuminator of the state of waking, we rejoin : No, because in that case, his description as being characterised by various states as " moves majestically in the dream-state " and again as " when asleep, serene, knows no dream " etc. would be devoid of significance. Pointing out fault in the state of waking and others, by, " I will, however, explain him again to you " etc. the same (self) is expounded with regard to other states. Otherwise the sentence : " (I will, however, explain) him alone to you, again " would be inconsistent. Nor can you urge that it is the inner-controller that is expounded, as being the illuminator of different states, as stated in the section of inner-controller : " He who, dwelling in the self, is yet within the self, whom the self does not know ", (Bṛ. Up. III. 7.22), because in that case the sentences : " O Maghavan, mortal, indeed, is this body, held by death. It is the support of this immortal, bodiless Self. The embodied is held (by pleasure and pain) " etc. expounding the embodied (soul), held by pleasure and pain, will be inconsistent. Moreover, embodiment too is appropriate for the soul, having the conceit of the body, not for the inner-controller.

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त्मान्तरो यमात्मा न[१९] वेद" इत्यन्तर्यामिब्राह्मणेनापि तथैवोक्तत्वादिति वाच्यम् । तथा सति "मघवन्, मर्त्यं वा इद ँशरीरमात्त(त्तं) मृत्युना । तदस्यामृतस्य(स्या)शरीरस्यात्मनोऽधिष्ठानम् । आत्तो वै सशरीर" इत्यादिवाक्येनोक्तः सशरीरः प्रियाप्रियाभ्यामात्त इति वाक्यं व्याहन्येत । शरीरग्रहणञ्च शरीराभिमानवतो जीवस्यैव नान्तर्यामिणो घटते ।

ननु "मघवन्, मर्त्यं वा इदँ शरीरम्" इत्यादिना वाक्येनैकस्मिञ्छरीरे वसतो जीवात्मपरमात्मनोरेको प्रियाप्रियाभ्यामात्तो जीवः । अन्यस्त्वशरीरं वाव सन्तं न प्रियाप्रिये स्पृशत इति परमात्मा अशरीरत्वान्न प्रियाप्रियाभ्यामात्त इति जीवानुवादेन परमात्मोपदिष्ट इति चेन्न । यः पूर्वोक्तो जाग्रदाद्यवस्थावान् तस्यैव "एतं त्वेव ते भूयः" इत्यारभ्य "अशरीरो वायुरभ्रं विद्युत्स्तनयित्नुरशरीराण्येतानि । तद्यथैतानि अमुष्मादाकाशात्समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यन्ते । एवमेवैष संप्रसादोऽस्माच्छ(च्छ)रीरात्समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यत" इत्यादिना अशरीरिण एवोपाधिसंयोगाच्छ(च्छ)रीरग्रहणमुक्तम् । अन्यथा संप्रसादपदोपादानं वृथा स्यात् । संप्रसादः सुषुप्त्यभिमानवानितिनिर्णयात् । न च संप्रसादशब्देनापि परमात्मैवोक्तो न सुषुप्त्यभिमानवानिति वाच्यम् । "स

If you argue that, in fact, in the sentence : "O Maghavan, mortal, indeed, is this body" etc. out of the two that is the soul and the Supreme Self, dwelling in one body, it is the soul held by pleasure and pain and the other is the Supreme Self referred to as "to the bodiless, indeed, pleasure and pain do not touch", is really God not held by pleasure and pain on account of his being disembodied; thus, it is the God who is instructed through the transposition of the soul, we rejoin ; No, because it is the soul, having the state of waking, that is earlier posited and it is he alone about whom it is further stated "I will, however, explain him alone again to you" and further "Bodiless is air, clouds, lightning, thunder, these are bodiless. Now as these, when they arise from yonder space and reach the highest light, appear each with their own form. Even so this serene, (self) when he rises up from this body and reaches the highest light, appears in his own form" etc. is affirmed about him alone, thus it is about the bodiless (Self) alone that the acceptance of body is stated through the conjunction of adjunct. Otherwise the mention of the word 'serene' would be meaningless. It is concluded that the serene is the soul having conceit of the state of deep sleep. Nor may you urge that by the word 'serene' also it is God who is stated, not the one having conceit of the state of deep sleep, because by the following sentence from the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, the one having the conceit of the state of deep sleep is concluded to be the 'serene' : "He, indeed, having enjoyed and roamed about in the state of deep sleep and having seen good and evil" etc. (Bṛ. Up. IV. 3.15).

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१९ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ३. ७. २२ काण्वशाखायां "य आत्मनि तिष्ठन्" इत्यस्य स्थाने "यो विज्ञाने तिष्ठन्" इत्यादि पठ्यते ।

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वा एष एतस्मिन्संप्रसादे रत्वा चरित्वा द्रष्ट्वैव पुण्यञ्च पाप[२०]ञ्चेति" बृहदारण्यकवाक्येन सुषुप्त्यभिमानवान् संप्रसाद इति निर्णयात् ।

ननु मास्तु परमात्मोपदेशः किन्तु जीवस्यैवोपदेशो भवितुं युक्तः । तथा हि--यदाऽयं शरीराभिमानवान् तदाऽयं प्रियाप्रियाभ्यामात्त इत्यभिप्रायेण प्रजापतिना तत्र तदवस्थानिराकरणेन शरीरत्रयस्य निषेधः कृतः, आत्तं मृत्युनेत्यादिदोषदर्शनेन । यदाऽयं शरीरत्रयरहितस्तदाऽयमपहतपाप्मत्वादिगुणविशिष्टोऽमृतोऽभयो ब्रह्मसदृश इति सर्वं समञ्जसमिति चेन्न । एवं सति स उत्तमः पुरुष इति वाक्यमसंलग्नं स्यात् । न चोत्तमः पुरुषोऽपि तस्यां मुक्त्यवस्थायामेवेति वाच्यम् । एवं सति--

द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके क्षरश्चाक्षर एव च ।
क्षरः सर्वाणि भूतानि कूटस्थोऽक्षर उच्यते ॥

उत्तमः पुरुषस्त्वन्यः परमात्मेत्युदाहृतः ।
यो लोकत्रयमाविश्य बिभर्त्यव्यय ईश्वरः ॥

यस्मात्क्षरमतीतोऽहमक्षरादपि चोत्तमः ।
अतोऽस्मि लोके वेदे च प्रथितः पुरुषोत्तमः[२१] ॥

If you contend that let it not be the instruction about God, for appropriately it is the instruction about the soul alone. To explain : Prajāpati, by eliminating the states, negated the three bodies (viz. gross, subtle and causal) on account of the fault of being held by death and with a view to explaining the fact that he is held by pleasure and pain (only) when he has the conceit of the body. When he is free from the three bodies, he is similar to Brahman, immortal, fearless and is qualified by the attributes like ' free from evil ' etc. Thus all (revelatory sentences) become consistent. We rejoin : No, because in that case the sentence : " He is the Supreme Person" would be redundant. Nor can it be urged that he becomes the Supreme Person only in the state of emancipation, for in that case the following utterance of the Lord (Kṛṣṇa) expounding (the nature of) the Supreme Person, would be self-contradictory :—" There are two persons in this world, the perishable and the imperishable ; the perishable is all these beings and the immutable is the imperishable. But other than these, is the highest spirit called the Supreme Self who, as the undying Lord, enters the three worlds and sustains them. As I transcend the perishable and am higher even than the

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२० बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत् , ४. ३. १५

२१ श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता १५. १६-१८

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इति भगवद्वाक्यं परमात्मप्रतिपादकं व्याहन्येत । अत्रापि "एतद् ब्रह्म" इत्यत्र "ब्रह्मसदृश इति व्याख्यायेत तदा मुख्यार्थबाधो दोषः स्यात् । तस्मात्प्रजापतेरयमभिप्रायः— य अपहतपाप्मादिविशेषणविशिष्टः परमात्मा इन्द्रेण पृष्टः स एव प्रजापतिना "य एषोऽक्षिणि पुरुषो दृश्यते" इत्यादिना परमात्मैवोक्तः । तत्र जाग्रदवस्थायां स्थूलदेहाभिमानवति भयत्वादि-बहुदोषदर्शनपुरःसरं पृष्टः प्रजापतिराह-- "य एष स्वप्ने महीयमान" । इत्यादिना । तत्र प्रजापतेरयमाशयः । त्वया ये दोषा द्रष्टास्ते स्थूलशरीरस्यैव न तु परमात्मनोऽयं तु स्वप्न-प्रकाश(क)त्वेनाभय एव भवति । यन्नाशम(व)त् तत्स्थूलशरीरम् । तत्रापीन्द्रेण लिङ्गशरीर-विशिष्टो(ऽय)मिति ज्ञातम् । तत्रापि लिङ्गशरीरे दोषदर्शनेन पृष्टः प्रजापतिराह— "तद्यत्रै-

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imperishable, I am celebrated as the Supreme Person in the world and in the Veda". (Bh.G., XV, 16-18). Here (in the present textual context) too, if the statement: "This is Brahman" is explained as "similar to Brahman", the fault of rejection of the primary meaning of the word would arise. This is, therefore, the intent of Prajāpati :—The Supreme Person, qualified by the attributes like: "free from evil" and others, and asked by Indra, alone is expounded by Prajāpati, with the sentences like: "The person seen in the eye" etc. Regarding this (person) in the waking state, having conceit in the gross body, (Indra), seeing many faults like fear etc. asked further. Asked thus, Prajāpati continued by saying "He who moves majestically in the dream state" etc. In this context, this is the intent of Prajāpati: whatever defects you have discerned, pertain to the gross body and not to the Supreme Person, for he is, indeed, fearless, being the illuminator of the dream state. What is subject to destruction is the gross body. Indra here also understood him as conditioned by the subtle body. But, seeing defects in the subtle body too, Indra asked further. Asked thus, Prajāpati continued: "He, when, asleep, serene" etc. This is the intent (of Prajāpati) in this context: Whatever defects you discerned, they are of the subtle body and not of the Supreme Person, for he is, even at that time, fearless, as the illuminator of the state of deep sleep. The subtle body alone is perishable. Asked further (by Indra) on discerning defects there too, Prajāpati said: "O Maghavan, mortal, indeed, is the body" etc. This is the intent (of Prajāpati) in this context: You observed that he merges in non-existence. But all these defects are of the causal body and not of the Supreme Self, for he, indeed, is eternal. This nescience called the causal body, is indeed, experienced during the state of deep sleep. By citing the instance of air, lightning, clouds and thunder and by stating :—"This serene (Self), rising from this body and reaching the highest light, attains his own form", it is conveyed that this causal body alone gets transformed into the two bodies (subtle and gross) and the two (corresponding) worlds. The causal body, alone therefore, is subject to destruction. The

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तत्सुप्तः संप्रसन्नः " इति । तत्राऽप्ययमभिप्रायः । त्वया ये दोषा द्रष्टास्ते लिङ्गशरीरस्यैव न तु परमात्मनः, अयं तु तदानीमपि सुषुप्तिप्रकाशकत्वेनाभय एव भवति । नाशम(व)लिङ्गशरीरमेव । तत्रापि दोषदर्शनेन पृष्टः प्रजापतिराह—" मघवन् , मर्त्यम्... " इत्यादिना । तत्राऽप्ययमभिप्रायः—यत्त्वयोक्तं नाशमेवापि(पी)तो भवतीति सर्वे दोषाः कारणशरीरस्यैव, न तु परमात्मनस्तस्य तु नित्यत्वात् । इदमेवाज्ञानं कारणशरीराख्यं यत्सुषुप्त्यवस्थायामनुभूयते । इदमेव कारणशरीरं शरीरद्वयाकारेण प्रपञ्चद्वयाकारेण च परिणमत इति वायुविद्युदभ्रस्तनयित्नुद्रष्टान्तेन " एष संप्रसादोऽस्मा(च्छ)रीरात्समुत्थाय परं ज्योतिरुपसंपद्य स्वेन रूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते " इति उक्तम् । तस्माद्विनाशम(व)त्तत्कारणशरीरमेव। अयं तु सर्वदैवैकरूप एव भवतीति सर्वमशरीरं वाव सन्तमित्यादिना ज्ञापितम् ।

अयं तत्तदवस्थाविशिष्टस्तु भ्रान्त्या भासते, यथा स्फटिके लौहित्यं तद्वत् । प्रपञ्चस्तु सुषुप्त्याख्यादज्ञानादुत्पद्यते । अज्ञानाधिष्ठानत्वेन परमात्मनोऽपि कारणत्वमुपचारात् । परमात्मनोऽपि जीवत्वं भ्रान्त्या प्रकल्पितम् , सर्वदैवैकरूपत्वात् । " ब्रह्मैव सन् ब्रह्माप्येति[२२] " इति श्रुतेः । तत्तदवस्थास्वपि जीवत्वं त्वया भ्रान्त्या ज्ञातं, मया तु सर्वदैवायं परमात्मैकरूप इत्युक्तम् अन्यथा—" एतदमृताभयमेतद् ब्रह्म " इति जीवावस्थायामुक्तं व्याहन्येत । तस्मान्नास्ति कास्वप्यवस्थासु अयं जीवः किन्तु परमात्मैवैकरूपः । प्रपञ्चस्तु सुषुप्त्याख्यादज्ञानादेवोत्पद्यत इति । सुषुप्तौ प्रपञ्चाख्यविक्षेपाभावादद्वैतं भवतीति बृहदारण्यकेऽपि परमात्मैवाद्वय इत्युक्तम्—

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fact that this (person) is, indeed, always of the same nature and other allied conclusions are established by the statements like " when bodiless (pleasure and pain do not touch him) " etc.

This person appears as conditioned by different states through illusion, as redness in the crystal. The world is produced from the nescience called deep sleep. The causality of the Supreme Person also (with regard to the world) is declared figuratively, because of his being the substrate of the nescience. The status of being a soul, with respect to the Supreme Person, is imagined through illusion, for he is always uniform. The scripture states : " He, being Brahman alone, merges into Brahman. " In different states too his soulness is known to you through illusion. I maintain that he is always uniformly the Supreme Person. Otherwise the statement, " this is immortal, fearless Brahman " even in his status as soul, will be contradicted. He, therefore, in no state, is a soul but uniformly the Supreme Person. The world is created, indeed, from the nescience called deep sleep. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* too, it is stated that in deep sleep, there being no distraction caused by the world, it is the non-dual Supreme Person (that is experienced) : " He is the one Seer, non-dual, transparent like water. This is, O king the *Brahmaloka*, said he. This is his highest glory.

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२२ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद् , ४. ४. ६

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"सलिल एको द्रष्टाऽद्वैतो भवति । एष ब्रह्मलोकः सम्राट् इति एनमुवाच[२३] । एषाऽस्य परमा सम्पत् । एषोऽस्य परमो लोकः । एषोऽस्य परम आनन्दः । एतस्यैवानन्दस्यान्यानि भूतानि मात्रामुपजीवन्ति[२४] " इत्यादिना । तस्मात्पूर्वोक्तायाः श्रुतेर्नास्ति विरोधलेशोऽपि इति सिद्धम् ।

ननु अज्ञानं प्रपञ्चाकारेण परिणमत इति चेत्तर्हि परमात्मा जगज(ज्ज)न्मादिकारणं श्रुत्युक्तं व्याहन्येत इति चेन्न । नास्त्यत्र विरोधः, किन्तु अज्ञानमेव जगदाकारेण परिणमते । आत्मा तु न करोत्येव । तथाऽप्यज्ञानाधिष्ठानत्वेन तस्यापि कर्तृत्वं श्रुत्या प्रतिपाद्यते न वास्तवम्—" निष्कलं निष्क्रियं शान्तं निरवद्यं निरञ्जनम्[२५] " इति श्रुत्या अकर्तृत्वप्रतिपादनात् । यदि परमात्मा वस्तुतो जगदाकारेण परिणमेत तदा जगतोऽपि सत्यत्वप्रसङ्गात् । ननु श्रुत्या तु परमात्मैव जगदाकारेण परिणमत इत्युक्तम्, छान्दोग्ये षष्ठप्रपाठके । तथा हि—" येनाश्रुतं श्रुतं भवत्यमतं मतम् " इत्यादिना प्रतिज्ञाय दृष्टान्त उक्तः—" यथा सोम्यैकेन मृत्पिण्डेन सर्वं

This is his highest world. This is his supreme bliss, on a portion of this bliss other beings live." It is therefore, proved that there is not the slightest contradiction in the scriptural passages cited earlier.

You cannot urge that if nescience gets transformed into the world, the scriptural assertion of the Lord being the cause etc. of the world, will be contradicted. In this regard, there is no contradiction. Only the nescience is transformed into the world. The Self is inactive, still, being the substratum of the nescience, the agency is attributed to Him by the scripture. In fact this (agency) is not real. The scripture asserts His inaction : "He is impartite, inactive, calm, flawless and without qualities." If the Supreme Person, in reality were to get transformed into the world, there will arise the contingency of the world being real. But by the scripture namely *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, VI, it is stated that the Supreme Person alone is transformed into the world : To quote : "By which the unheard becomes heard, and unknown becomes known". Having made this assertion, the instance is cited : "As by a lump of clay, my dear, all that is made of clay, becomes known. The effects are only name, a manner of speaking, the clay alone is, verily, truth". As the clay is transformed into pot, platter and tray, even so this Supreme Person (is transformed into the world) : The Being, alone, my dear, was this (world) in the beginning, one alone, without a second. It created the light....it created the waters.... they (the waters) created food." By such statements, the transformation of the Supreme Person into the world is declared. The same is corroborated by assertion and instance. How, then is the nescience said to be the cause (of the world)?

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२३ काण्वशाखायाम् " उवाच " इत्यस्य स्थाने ' अनुशशास याज्ञवल्क्यः " इति पठ्यते ।

२४ बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ४. ३. ३२

२५ श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद्, ६. १९

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मृन्मयं विज्ञातँ स्यात् । वाचाऽऽरम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्[२६] " इति । यथा मृद् घटचरुकशरावादिरूपेण परिणमते तथाऽयं परमात्माऽपीत्युक्तम् । " सदेव सोम्येदमग्र आसीदेकमेवाद्वितीयं, तत्तेजोऽसृजत... तदपोऽसृजत... ता अन्नमसृजन्त[२७] " इत्यादिना परमात्मनो जगदाकारेण परिणाम उक्तः । प्रतिज्ञाद्रष्टान्ताभ्यां दृढीकृतः । तत्कथमज्ञानकारणमुच्यत इति चेन्न । अस्याः श्रुतेरपि सम्पूर्णप्रपाठकतात्पर्येणाज्ञानकारणत्वप्रतिपादनात् । तथा हि—" येनाश्रुतं श्रुतम् " इत्यादिना प्रतिज्ञाय प्रपञ्चोत्पत्तौ मृद्द्रष्टान्त उक्तः । तत्र दृष्टान्ते विकारस्य वाचारम्भणत्वोक्त्या प्रपञ्चस्य मिथ्यात्वमुक्तम् । तत्र यदि प्रपञ्चस्यापि सत्यत्वं स्यात् तदा " मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम् " इति कारणस्थले सत्यत्वोक्तिर्वृ(र्वृ)था स्यात् । अर्थात्कार्यस्य विकाराख्यस्य मिथ्यात्वमुक्तम् । यदि कार्यकारणमुभयमपि सत्यं तर्हि कारणस्यैव सत्यत्वमेवकारग्रहणञ्च न स्यात् । तस्मान्मिथ्या प्रपञ्च इति सिद्धम् ।

न च वाचारम्भणविकारशब्दात्प्रपञ्चस्य (स्या)नित्यत्वमेवास्तु न मिथ्यात्वमिति वाच्यम् । श्रुत्यैव मिथ्यात्वस्य पर्यायान्तरेण व्युत्पादितत्वात् । तत्र यदि जीवात्मा सुषुप्तौ मरणे वा परमात्मन्येकीभवती(ति) तर्हि पुनर्जाग्रदादौ कथं निःसरतीति श्वेतकेतोरभिप्रायं ज्ञात्वा उद्दालकेनोक्तम्—" पुरुषँ सोम्योत हस्तगृहीतमानयन्ति । अपहार्षीत्, स्तेयमकार्षीत्, परशुमस्मै तपतेति । स यदि तस्य कर्त्ता भवति तत एवानृतमात्मानं कुरुते । सोऽनृताभिसन्धोऽनृतेनात्मानमन्तर्धाय परशुं तप्तं प्रतिगृह्णाति, स दह्यते, अथ[२८]हन्यते " इत्यादिना ।

This question is unwarranted for even this scriptural passage, if the purport of the whole section is taken into account, establishes the causality of the nescience. To explain : " By which the unheard becomes heard. " Having made this assertion, the instance of clay is cited with regard to the production of the world. In this instance, the effect is characterised as manner of speaking. By this, the apparent nature of the world is declared. If the world were also to be real, the assertion of reality only of the cause : "clay alone is real" will be useless. Indirectly, the modification, called the effect, is declared to be of the nature of (false) appearance. If, in this case, both the cause and the effect were to be real, the (assertion of) reality of the cause alone and the use of emphasis by *eva*, (denoting exclusion of the effect) might not have been employed at all. It is, therefore, proved that the world is of the nature of (false) appearance.

Nor should it be urged that the use of the words " manner of speaking and modification ", is meant to signify only the nature of being transient and not the nature of being (unreal) appearance, with regard to the world. Because by the scripture itself, the nature of being unreal appearance is suggested with the help of another device. Śvetaketu desired to know as to how does the soul, if he

२६ छान्दोग्योपनिषद्, ६. १. ३-४ २७ तत्रैव, ६. २. १-४

२८ तत्रैव, ६. १६. १

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तदाऽनृतेनाच्छा(च्छा)दितः परमात्मनि लीयते, तस्मादुत्तिष्ठते। यदाऽनृतं नाशयित्वा लीयते तदा मुक्त्यवस्थायां नोत्तिष्ठत इति तद्वपरशुद्रष्टान्तप्रदर्शनेन वदता विकारस्यानृतत्वमुक्तम्। अनृतत्वञ्च मिथ्यात्वम् मिथ्यात्वञ्चाज्ञानजन्यत्वं विनाऽनुपपन्नम्। अत्रापि जीवो लीयत इत्युक्तं, तदप्यज्ञानजनबोधार्थम्। वस्तुतस्तु सर्वदैव परमात्मैकस्वरूपो भवति। न जीवभावः किन्तु सुषुप्त्यादौ प्रपञ्चो लीयत इति। तस्मादस्यापि प्रपाठकस्य परमात्मनि भ्रान्तिजन्योऽयं प्रपञ्च इत्याशयः। कठवल्ल्यामपि एवमेवोक्तम्—

"आत्मानं रथिनं विद्धि[२९] शरीरं रथमेव तु।
बुद्धिं तु सारथिं विद्धि[२९] मनः प्रग्रहमेव च॥
इन्द्रियाणि हयानाहुः विषयाँस्तेषु गोचरान्[३०]"॥

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becomes one with the Supreme Person during the states of deep sleep or death, come out (as soul) in the states like waking and others. Knowing this intention of Śvetaketu, Uddālaka said: "They bring, my dear, a man, holding his hand, (and say) he has taken away, he has committed theft, get an axe heated for him. If he, indeed, is the agent (of that theft) then alone he renders himself untrue. He, given to untruth, covering himself with untruth, grasps the heated axe, is burnt and killed." Then (in the states of deep sleep or death) he, being covered with untruth, merges into the Supreme Person and from him emerges. When (he) merges (in the Supreme Person) after destroying the untruth, as in the state of deliverance, he does not emerge again. This is stated by introducing the instance of the heated axe and by this the unreal nature of the effect (i.e. the world) is declared. Unreal nature is the same as being unreal appearance. And the nature of being unreal appearance cannot be consistent without being the creation of nescience. The statement, in this regard, that the soul gets merged, is also merely for the instruction of an ignoramous. In fact, he (the conditioned soul) is uniformly of the nature of the Supreme Person. During the state of deep sleep and others, not the nature of soul, but the world, gets merged. Of this section too, therefore, the intent is that the world is an illusory appearance in the Supreme Person. In the *Kaṭhavallī* too, this same matter is stated:

"Know the Self as the lord of the chariot and the body as the chariot. Know the intellect as the charioteer and mind the reins. They say, the senses are horses and their objects their path".

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२९ ग्रन्थकर्त्रा उभयत्र "विद्धि" इति मूलपाठमनुसृत्य लिखितम्। अन्येन केनचित् कालान्तरे "विद्यात्" इति परिवर्तितम्। अस्माभिः मूलपाठ एव स्वीकृतः।

३० कठोपनिषद्, ३. ३-४.

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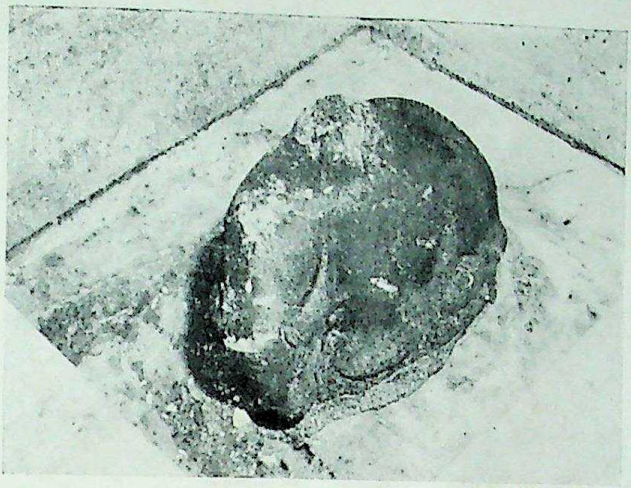

Fig. 1
Kedāreśvara Mahādeva, Pāṭaṇ

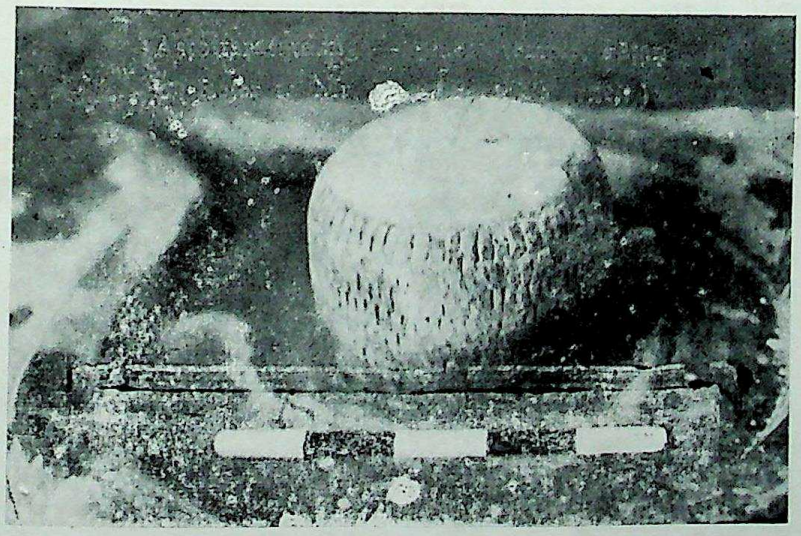

Fig. 4
Aṣṭottaraśataliṅga—Ṛṣikeśa temple, Pāṭaṇ
(Refer to Mr. V. S. Parekh's article)

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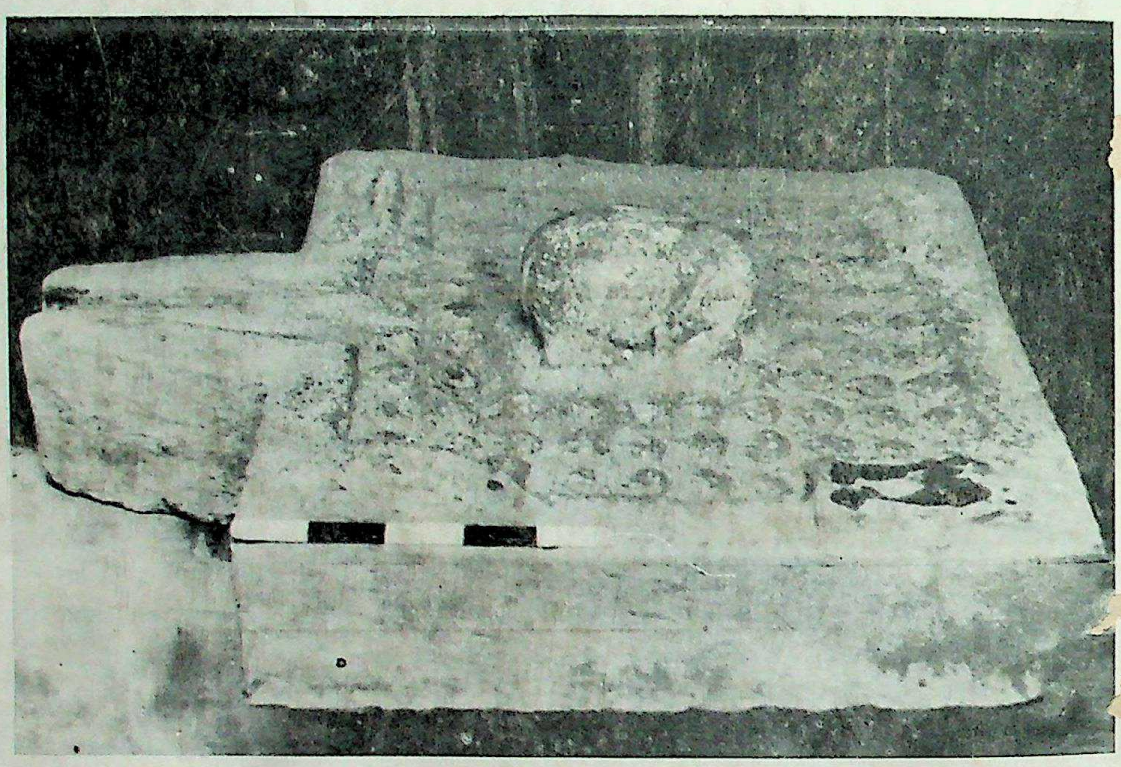

Fig. 2
Kedāreśvara
(Refer to Mr. V. S. Parekh's article)